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ABSTRACT

The four papers in this annual volume on the history of higher education cover some of the changes that evolved over the years in various U.S. institutions. The first paper is: "The Harvard Tutors: The Beginning of an Academic Profession, 1690-1825" (John D. Burton), which discusses the shift from Harvard's original tutorship model to its modern professional faculty. The second paper is "'A Salutary Rivalry': The Growth of Higher Education for Women in Oxford, Ohio, 1855-1867" (Margaret A. Nash), which traces growth and change at three female educational institutions in that small community. Next, "'Noah Porter Writ Large': Reflections on the Modernization of American Education and Its Critics, 1866-1916" (Peter Dobkin Hall), portrays the transformation of American higher education after the Civil War. The fourth paper is "Californians and Public Higher Education: Political Culture, Educational Opportunity and State Policymaking" (John Aubrey Douglass). This paper traces the history of higher education from the chartering of the state university in 1849 to the postwar era. Two additional shorter review essays are titled, "College As It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Roger L. Geiger with Julie Ann Bubolz), and "The Rise of the University and the Secularization of the Academy: The Role of Liberal Protestantism" (Kathleen A. Mahoney). An annotated list of recent dissertations in the field is appended. All papers include reference notes. (CH)

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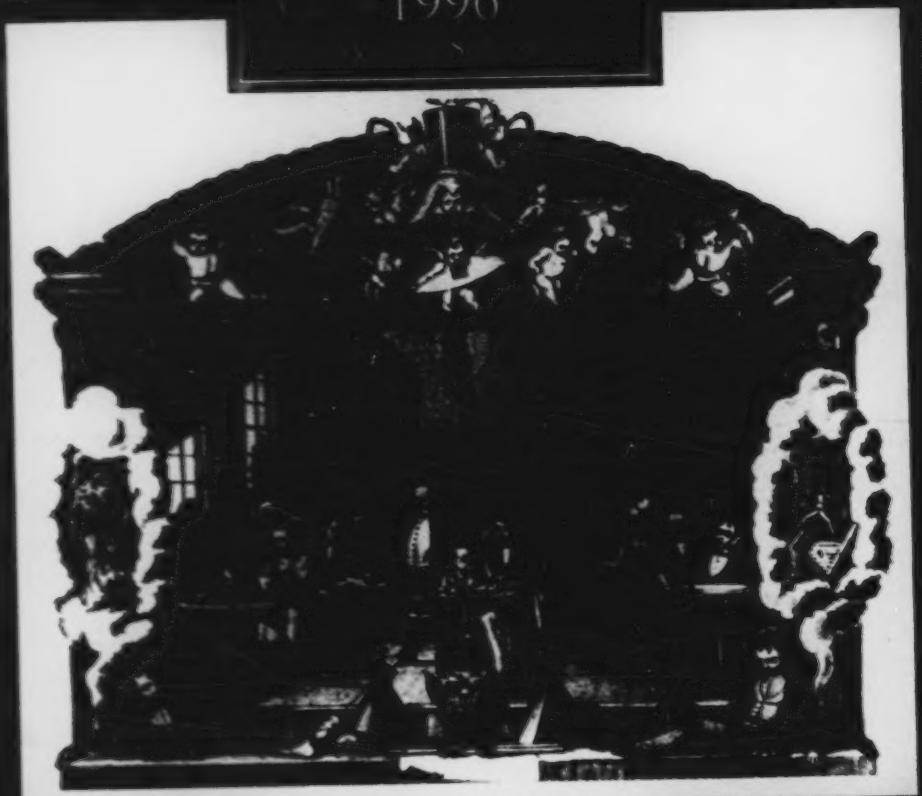

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Volume Sixteen

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The Harvard Tutors: The Beginning of an Academic Profession, 1690-1825

JOHN D. BURTON

Richard Hofstadter identified Harvard's transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century as a paradox. According to Hofstadter, "the seeds of Harvard liberalism were actually planted within Puritanism itself, and they sprouted not long after the first generation of American Puritans had passed on to their rewards." Unfortunately, the study of the intellectual changes at Harvard has overshadowed the beginning of an important social transformation in the American professorate occurring at the same time. At Harvard, the tutors formed the primary teaching staff during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most historians, however, have dismissed the colonial tutors as a group of transient instructors with little commitment to teaching and date the rise of professional faculty to the 1750s. In fact, a pattern of increasing stability among the tutors began to appear at Harvard in the 1690s. The changes in the composition of the Harvard tutors was part of a larger series of trends in Anglo-American education that saw the separation of the teaching profession from that of the ministry.[1]

English universities had a tradition of faculty control. Tutors (or "fellows" as they were sometimes called), were usually permanent faculty responsible for both instruction and college governance. Professorships, which also existed within the English universities, were endowed positions, and were no more permanent than many tutorships or fellowships. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, New England society in general was undergoing a period of Anglicization, a process wherein colonial institutions were reformed to more closely replicate English norms. The changes in Harvard's governance structure and the position of its tutors were part of this larger process. The tutorship at Harvard was the only one to begin to replicate English models because only Harvard was old enough to have the financial resources, stability, and student body to support permanent faculty in the early eighteenth century. Yale, in comparison, had a stormy history during the early 1700s. Both its site and its faculty were transitory and resources to support even a full-time rector-president were often lacking. The Yale tutors were further discredited by the frequent student riots that occurred during vacancies in the rectorship when they were ostensibly in control. The Yale tutorship, therefore, never had the opportunity to begin to professionalize before other faculty models became the accepted norm in the American colonies.[2]

Colonial Harvard had two types of teachers. Professors, first appearing in the 1720s, taught in specific disciplines and lived off-campus. Tutors, active in the college since the 1640s, were responsible for teaching the entire basic curriculum, lived in the college, and supervised the students' curricular and extracurricular activities. The difference in instructional responsibilities was important; the distinction in living arrangements should not be over stressed, however. The 1734 college laws specified that "the professors shall constantly reside in Cambridge near the college." Before the

American Revolution, Harvard professors lived in homes adjacent to the college grounds at the east-end of the current Harvard Yard. Many of the professors took as boarders the overflow of Harvard students. Life in the professors' homes replicated life in the colleges in many respects. Both the professors and the tutors were expected to dine in commons. The chief distinction in the professors' living arrangements was their ability to marry (tutors were expected to remain single). Moreover, the Harvard tutors should not all be lumped into a single category. The seventeenth-century tutorship was very different from the eighteenth and reflects the increased professionalization of college teaching.[3]

Wilson Smith first noted the important transition the Harvard tutorship underwent from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Where most seventeenth-century tutors only remained at the college for less than three years, in the eighteenth century many of the tutors remained at Harvard for fifteen or more years. He cited the careers of a number of Harvard tutors, highlighting their activities at the college, their long-term dedication to teaching, and their long tenure at the college. He noted that most eighteenth-century tutors were not necessarily waiting for calls to the pulpit. Unlike the seventeenth-century tutors who virtually all went into the ministry, the eighteenth-century tutors sought a wider-range of careers. By the middle of the eighteenth century, more than a third of the tutors remained in education. Moreover, by the eighteenth century, the pay for tutors (all single men) was relatively good. Tutors were paid between £90 and £100 pounds in the mid-eighteenth century, less than many ministers, but unlike rural clergymen, the tutors knew they would receive their pay without resort to lengthy court action. In spite of these trends, however, Wilson concludes that "college teaching was clearly not a profession" in the mid-eighteenth century.[4]

Other historians of the eighteenth century have dismissed the tutorship altogether. William Carrell, in his study of eighteenth-century professors, places the rise of the professional academic in the later half of the eighteenth century. Carrell's study focuses exclusively on professors and college presidents. He dismisses the tutorship as a transient office, in spite of the increased longevity of the eighteenth-century Harvard tutors. Similarly, in comparing the tutors and professors, Martin Finkelstein points at "permanence" as the chief distinction between the two groups of academics. Professors remained in office longer, usually until death, and Finkelstein also placed the rise of the professionalization of the faculty with the beginning of the professoriate.[5]

Historians of higher education studying the rise of the academic profession have used a more narrow view of the professional idea. Using a more traditional view of professionalization as the rise of a middle-class or high-class occupation, Samuel Haber, for example, looked to the late nineteenth century as the formative period for the American professoriate. In looking for the colonial roots of professionalization, historians have focused on the establishment of faculty chairs in the mid-eighteenth century and ignored the existence of other types of faculty, specifically the tutors who carried out much of the teaching burden in colonial colleges. Much of the discussion of the academic profession in colonial America has been colored by the rise of research

universities and discipline-based education in the late nineteenth century. This anachronistic view of colonial America has missed the multiplicity of models for the academic professional in the eighteenth century.[6]

Other models for understanding professionalization shed new light on the status of the eighteen-century tutors. Bruce Kimball, in *The 'True Profession Ideal' in America*, has provided one interpretation of the development of American professions. Kimball overcomes the narrow interpretations of earlier historians who defined professionalization in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century terms, thereby making the rise of professions a "modern" occurrence. Instead Kimball used a fluid definition of "profession" and "professionalization." One important insight of Kimball's is that the "rhetoric or cultural ideal" of the profession has undergone important changes from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. For example, in the eighteenth century, professions took on a more pronounced vocational character, replacing the older religious concepts. Although professions continued to be identified by communities of like-minded individuals, the concept of professions as occupations requiring a functional expertise, or having a strong connection with the development of the American middle-class were more modern interpretations of the ideal of the professions, inappropriate to interpreting their development in the eighteenth century. Professional expertise as specialized knowledge was a nineteenth-century concept, the eighteenth century stressed universal, general knowledge as the basis of all the professions. Thus, professions should not be equated with middle-class consciousness in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the development of professions needs to be understood as a continuing, developmental process, rather than a single event in time. Unfortunately, Kimball included little discussion of the eighteenth century tutors in this discussion of the professionalization of the faculty in the eighteenth century. This paper hopes to fill in his analysis.[7]

Ignored as a post for transient instructors who taught for several years and then left teaching for other careers, usually as ministers, the tutorship at Harvard in fact was undergoing a transformation in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century from a temporary job to a semi-permanent or permanent career. The tutorship often served as the first stage of a teaching career followed by service as a professor or a schoolmaster. Instead of placing the rise of professionalism in academia to the 1750s, many of these trends can be dated to the 1690s, when tutors first displayed an increased interest in and commitment to the teaching profession. The eighteenth century actually saw the development of two models of the academic profession, one more individualistic with discipline-based instruction carried out by professors living independently outside the college and the other more communitarian, with tutors living in the college and providing a broad-range of instruction. Both models increasingly allowed for lifetime careers, a strong sense of identity and vocation, had specific training, and the potential for a significant role in collegial governance. Only one survived to the nineteenth century, however.[8]

The changes in the composition of the Harvard tutors were part of a larger trend in Anglo-American education that saw the separation of the teaching profession from that of the ministry. Important to this professionalization was the pattern of increasing stability and involvement in college life, which started to appear among the Harvard tutors. The college records chronicle the role of the tutors in Harvard's educational life and greater control over the governance of the college. This study suggests that the professionalization of the teaching staff at Harvard coincided with and often preceded the creation of the other professions including law and medicine in colonial New England. In particular, the professionalization of the tutors needs to be viewed as part of the creation of a teaching profession that included school teachers and grammar school masters.[9]

* * *

Until 1722, Harvard did not have any endowed chairs or professorships; tutors were entrusted with the bulk of the teaching load. For most of the seventeenth century, Harvard appointed two tutors. In 1699, the number was increased to three and in 1720 to four. Until 1716, the tutors were given permanent appointments subject to good behavior. Each tutor saw one or two classes of students and saw the class through the entire undergraduate curriculum. This integrated instruction should not be viewed as a limitation in the professional development of the tutors. In fact, these expectations show the broad competence that college-educated men were expected to have in a variety of subjects. At the same time, the emphasis of institutional historians on the role and power of the college's various governing authorities has obscured the almost absolute power the tutors had over the everyday life of Harvard's students. *The Lawes Libertyes and Orders of Harvard College* for the years 1642-1646 made the tutors responsible for the religious supervision of students, the students' conduct in commons, and in their chambers. Permission of the tutors or the president was required for students to "live or board in the family or private house of any Inhabitant in Cambridge" or to "be present at or in any of the publick civill meetings or concourse of People as Courts of Justice, Elections, ffayers, [or] military Exercise in the time or hours of the colledge exercise." Furthermore, the tutors had authority over the scholars as long as the students were within the town of Cambridge. If a student lived off-campus illegally, the college authorized the tutors to take action against him "by Admonition & private correction." Tutors were also authorized to use mild forms of corporal punishment. These responsibilities extend beyond those of the professors and other instructors. For example, the Hebrew instructor was required to refer students to the tutors for corrections in "matters of greater importance." Similarly the professors were eventually granted the powers of correction described as the same as the tutors. Thus the tutors supervised the totality of the students' activities at Harvard. For their efforts, tutors received a free room and a small salary set by the college Corporation. In the seventeenth century, the college did not pay the tutors directly, each was responsible

for collecting fees from his students. When these fees did not cover the agreed-upon salary, the college made up the difference.[10]

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the two Harvard tutors also occupied two of the seven positions on the Corporation, the college's chief governing body. Neighboring ministers usually held three positions, and the treasurer and president of the college the other two. In spite of the responsibilities assigned to the tutors on paper for the college's governance and operation, the tutorship was neither professional nor a powerful position in the seventeenth century. Samuel Eliot Morison described the typical seventeenth-century tutor as "a very young man, appointed to the fellowship after taking his Bachelor's degree. He was a candidate for the ministry, and he resigned his tutorship as soon as a ministerial opening appeared." There was little separation between the preaching and teaching professions. Some 73 percent of the tutors serving before 1680 became ministers after leaving the college.[11]

Table 1

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF THE HARVARD TUTORS
by Year of Appointment

Years of Service	1650-1659	1660-1679	1680-1699	1700-1719	1720-1739	1740-1759	1760-1779	1780-1795
1-3	16	16	2	3		2	8	16
4-6	4	3	2	3	1		8	4
7-9				1	2		1	1
10-12			2	1	1	1		
13-15								
16-19					2			
20-25								
over 25			1					
Total Number of Tutors	20	19	7	8	6	5	17	21
Average Years of Service	2.7	2.6	13.3	5.6	11.2	11.7	3.5	2.5
Without Flynt			6.3					

Sources: *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix.
Corporation Records, Harvard University Archives.
John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).

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Furthermore, the seventeenth-century tutors were a transient group. Where most Harvard presidents held office for lengthy tenures (Henry Dunster for fourteen years and Charles Chauncy for more than seventeen), few tutors remained in their post for more than three years (see table 1). Age provided another contrast: unlike the presidents, who were mature, established ministers, most tutors were fairly young at the time of their appointment, usually under the age of twenty-five (see table 2). At the end of the seventeenth century, however, the role and position of the Harvard tutors began to change.

With the appointment of John Leverett and William Brattle as Harvard tutors in the 1680s, the tutorship began to fill a more professional position within the college. Although both men were only twenty-three when appointed to the tutorship in 1685, each remained at Harvard for about twelve years. After leaving their positions at Harvard, Brattle's career followed the traditional path for seventeenth-century tutors; he entered the ministry and served the Cambridge church. Leverett, on the other hand, chose to study law, settled in Cambridge, and eventually returned to Harvard as

Table 2

AGE OF HARVARD TUTORS AT YEAR OF APPOINTMENT
at Year of Appointment

Age	1640-1659	1660-1679	1680-1699	1700-1717	1720-1739	1749-1759	1760-1779
Less than 20	7	1					
20-24	9	13	5	3	1	2	3
25-29	1	4	2	3	5	1	8
30-34				1		2	4
35-40				1			
Unknown	3	1					2
Total Number of Tutors	20	19	7	8	6	5	17
Average age at appointment	20	22	24	27	26	28	27

Sources: *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix.
Corporation Records Harvard University Archives.
John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).

president in 1708. With the tenure of Brattle and Leverett, the rapid turnover in incumbents came to an end, and the tutors increased their role in the operation of the college.[12]

The political instability of the colony in the late seventeenth century led to the tutors assuming a larger role in the governance of the college. Leverett and Brattle's influence can be seen in the changing intellectual environment at Harvard. Beginning in the 1690s, Harvard moved away from strict Puritan theology and became increasingly liberal in its orientation. This was accomplished through the increased power and authority of the tutors during a period of political instability in the colony. In 1685, the Crown annulled the Massachusetts charter and created the Dominion of New England. Because the colony had issued Harvard's 1650 charter, the crown's action also canceled its charter. What followed was perhaps the most complex chartering episode ever experienced by any college in America. The General Court proposed five charters between 1692 and 1700; the Crown or the royal governor rejected four, and the fifth was lost in the bureaucracy in London. Meanwhile, Harvard operated under temporary legislative acts and several temporary governing boards. Increase Mather, Harvard's president, was out of the country during much of the dispute, serving as the colony's deputy in England beginning in 1688. When Mather returned to Massachusetts in 1692, he did not take up residence in Cambridge, but instead remained in Boston. In 1701, he resigned the presidency; his successor, Samuel Williard, also remained in Boston. Consequently, the tutors were left with much of the oversight for the college for almost twenty years. What stability Harvard enjoyed at the turn of the century was achieved by the continuity in office of its two tutors, Leverett and Brattle.[13]

The tutors used their increased authority to change Harvard's theological orientation. After the Crown annulled the college's charter, the President and Council of New England met on July 23, 1686 and confirmed Increase Mather as rector of the college and instructed him to "make his usual visitations." They also declared "that Mr Jon Leverett & Mr Wm Brattle be the Tutors, & enter upon the Governmt of the Colledge, & manage the public reading in the hall." The council also confirmed the salaries of the tutors.[14] Leverett and Brattle, in Richard Hofstadter's words, "were members of mercantile and magisterial families that were in short order aligned against Mather. They were relatively liberal in their attitudes, and for twelve years the future intellectual elite of the Bay Colony passed under their tutelage and theirs alone."[15]

Although Increase Mather might have supported some reform at the college, Perry Miller noted that Leverett and Brattle "entertained notions still more 'enlarged'" than the college president would have supported.[16] The eighteenth century ushered in an American Enlightenment. Norman Fiering writes that Puritan scholastic thought was replaced by a

> "new moral philosophy," a discipline that was neither an exposition of Aristotle, as the old academic moral philosophy had been for four hundred years, nor an overt presentation of

> practical theology, such as many Protestants in the seventeenth century had hoped would succeed the old Aristotelian ethics. The new moral philosophy was a Christian ethics of sorts...but it was not Christ centered or dogmatic. One might call it a post-theological, but not a post-Christian, morals.[17]

The Harvard tutors were the leaders of the intellectual revolution at Harvard that moved the curriculum away from an exclusively classical education designed for theological education to a more humanistically-oriented one that could encompass training for a wide-variety of professions. These curricular changes in turn helped to separate college attendance and college teaching from the ministerial profession. By the mid-eighteenth century, tenure as a college tutor would be valued as preparation for careers in law, business, and school teaching (see table 3).

Table 3

OCCUPATION AFTER SERVICE AT HARVARD
by Year of Departure

Occupation	1640-1679	1680-1719	1720-1759	1760-1779
Minister	22	10	4	7
Law/Government	4	2	1	1
Physician	3		1	
Merchant	1	2	1	
Education*			3	3
Total Number of Tutors	30	14	9	13

*Education includes tutors who remained in office until retirement, became professors, or schoolmasters.
Eight tutors died during their appointments.

Sources: *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1925), 15:clvii-clix.
Corporation Records, Harvard University Archives.
John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873-).

The clearest articulation of this sense of new professionalism among the Harvard tutors occurred between 1716 and 1722 in the tutors' dispute with the Harvard Corporation. They had two complaints. Until 1712, the tutors had kept separate accounts for each of their students, collecting tuition and then settling with the college on a regular basis for any shortfall from their stated salaries. In effect, the tutors were responsible for an important part of the financial operations of the college. In 1712, however, the college took over the collection of tuition and the tutors were instead paid a set salary. Similarly, until 1716, the tutors had a permanent appointment subject only to good behavior. In April 1716, the Corporation voted: "no tut[o]r or Fellow of the House [a title to distinguish tutors from fellows of the Corporation] now or henceforth to be chosen shall hold a fellowship with Salary for more than Three years, Except continued by a New Election." The Corporation was attempting to assert greater control over the college faculty. These actions were the first steps in the attempt to reduce the authority and status of the tutors. The tutors' response displayed their professional resentment to the downgrading of their status within the college. In March 1718, the tutors attempted to take direct control of the revenues of the college.[18]

The controversy expanded to the tutor's right to sit on the Corporation. In 1707, when the Corporation was reestablished under the 1650 charter, Governor Dudley had chosen from among the members of the temporary Corporation, seven to sit on the reconstituted board. He choose only two of the three tutors. The third tutor, John Whiting, was elected to the Corporation at the next vacancy. Because tutors did not always give up their fellowship immediately after leaving the tutorship, there could be some lag between appointment to the tutorship and election to the fellowship. Nevertheless, usually at least two and sometimes all three tutors sat on the Corporation after 1707. In 1716 and 1717, three vacancies occurred within the Corporation and two of the tutors not yet sitting on the Corporation expected that these positions would fall to them. After the experiences of Leverett and Brattle, the tutors increasingly expected to play a central role in the governance and operation of the college. But Harvard had become a pawn in a provincial struggle over which religious faction would control the college. Traditional Puritans from Mather's camp sat on the college's Overseers while liberal Congregationalists dominated the Corporation. The Corporation choose to elect three prominent liberal Congregational ministers to solidify liberal control of the college, rather than the two tutors.[19]

Nicholas Sever, one of the two tutors not yet on the Corporation, felt especially slighted by the Corporation's actions. Sever was already an ordained minister when he became a tutor at the age of thirty-six (he had to leave the pulpit because of strained vocal cords). When the college passed him over for a seat on the Corporation, Sever examined past practices of the college and found that in the seventeenth century, tutors had automatically served as fellows of the Corporation. He therefore argued that all tutors should automatically be considered fellows. His argument implied that the tutors should be viewed not only as the primary instructors of the college, but also as its governors.[20]

In March 1718, Sever wrote a lengthy protest to the Corporation on his treatment as a Harvard tutor. His sentiments display an increasingly professional attitude. Sever argued that "Mr. President [Leverett] had encroached upon the rights of the Fellows." Sever explained that Leverett was usurping the authority of the tutors; Leverett had fined freshmen for not attending readings in the hall, even though Sever had excused the students in accordance with the regulations of the college. Furthermore, Sever contended that the triennial act requiring the reelection of the tutors every three years rather than making permanent appointments, "appears to me to be an additional weakening" of the tutors' position. Because the workload of the tutors had increased with the size of the student body, it would make more sense "to set the follows [tutors] higher...and make them stronger, and the contrary to weaken, and lessen them must in my humble opinion have a bad tendency." Sever's protest of 1718 is the first outburst from Harvard's faculty to protect their rights in the governance process.[21]

Sever specifically complained about the lack of collegial behavior from the president (the former tutor, John Leverett). He noted that Leverett was taking the decision-making power of the college "intirely into his own hands." Sever also complained that he had been improperly treated when his tutorship was not proclaimed in the college hall. He also felt slighted by the size of his salary which was less than Leverett had received as tutor twenty years earlier (Brattle and Leverett had received a supplement to their salary while the president was absent from the college). Ultimately Sever feared that the tutors were being left with only the responsibility for governing the houses (or dormitories) at Harvard: "if we are left with little more than a Name to govern the house, we must needs become despicable in the eyes of those we ought to govern." Sever concluded by calling for the tutors to be appointed to the vacant positions on the Corporation. Sever's fear of the loss of status is similar to that later experienced by late nineteenth-century professionals who saw the gradual decline of their power and authority within the community. The tutors had been able to achieve an increased sense of professionalism in the first decades of the eighteenth century. That new-found professionalism was put in jeopardy by the college president and external forces (the liberal Congregational ministers) who wanted to control Harvard's governance.[22]

The tutors did not let the matter drop; in 1720 all three tutors (Henry Flynt, Nicholas Sever, and Thomas Robie) presented a memorial to Leverett and the Corporation. The tutors argued that although the Charter of 1650 did not explicitly state that the tutors were to be considered fellows of the Corporation, such was the tradition of European universities. Although he already sat on the Corporation, Henry Flynt joined the other two tutors in their challenge to the Harvard authorities. The three tutors showed remarkable solidarity against the president and Corporation. Not getting satisfaction from the president, the tutors turned next to the Overseers.[23]

The tutors' dispute rapidly developed larger ramifications. The Overseers were composed of magistrates and ministers and met infrequently, the Corporation being the

main governing body by the early eighteenth century. The Overseers were authorized, however, to intervene in college affairs on extraordinary occasions. In 1721, Sever asked the Overseers to review the tutors' protest. Although traditional Puritans dominated the Overseers and evidence suggests that Sever and his fellow tutors were theological liberals, the Overseers nevertheless took up the tutors' cause as a way of displacing at least two of the liberal Congregationalists on the Harvard Corporation. The controversy quickly turned into a battle for religious control of Harvard by factions outside the college, and the professional concerns of the tutors were lost in the rhetoric of the religious struggle. The event's importance in the religious history of the period has obscured the basis of the tutors' original protest.[24]

The inability of the tutors to regain their seats on the Corporation did not signal their defeat. One or two tutors continued to sit on the Corporation, and they played an important role in Harvard's decision-making. They were frequently entrusted with college business that directly affected the town community. For example, in 1722, the Corporation appointed tutors Flynt and Robie (now both fellows of the Corporation) to represent the college in the laying out of a road through the college farm. Similarly, in early 1723, the Corporation asked Henry Flynt "to take with him Mr Sever and Mr Welsteed to View the College Lott in Cambridge neck and observe what trespass has bin committed thereupon." Three tutors were to inquire who was responsible and report back to the Corporation. Unlike most of the ministers on the board, the tutors were resident in Cambridge so were better situated to transact and oversee college business.[25]

The average length of service for the various tutors in the eighteenth century obscures the fact that a number of them served the college for substantial parts of their career. Although some tutors only served three or four years, others remained in the college for more than a decade. Henry Flynt was the longest-serving tutor (fifty-five years). Flynt is normally viewed as the exception (Finkelstein refers to him as a "permanent tutor" as if his status and appointment was different from the others at Harvard; it was not), but others served lengthy careers as well. Nathan Prince served for nineteen years (from 1723 to 1742) and would have served longer if not removed by the Harvard authorities. Thomas Marsh served twenty-five years and only resigned when the Corporation demanded it after his marriage. Marsh was so attached to the tutorship that he tried to keep his marriage a secret for a time. He turned to schoolteaching after his resignation. Belcher Hancock also served twenty-five years, and retired in his post. A core of the mid-eighteenth-century tutors are better characterized by their longevity and dedication to teaching than by brief and transient service.

Eighteenth-century tutors were also older at the time of their appointment (see table 2). Where the seventeenth-century tutors had been recent college graduates in their early twenties, by the mid-eighteenth century, the tutors were in their late twenties and early thirties when appointed to office. Almost all had already received their masters

degrees; many had served as librarians or butlers at the college before their service as tutors and were, therefore, more experienced in the operations of the college. Given the greater age differences, the students' relationship with the tutors changed in the eighteenth century. According to Morison, students "chummed" less with the tutors and started to view them as enemies, rather than allies. In addition, teaching was less likely to precede an entry into the ministry. Where before 1680, 73 percent of the tutors became ministers, by the mid-eighteenth century, only 33 percent did and as many as 40 percent remained in educational careers, serving as tutors, schoolteachers, or college professors until their death or retirement (see table 3). The eighteenth-century tutorship was becoming a permanent career for some and the first stage of an emerging educational career track for others.[26]

The establishment of faculty chairs at Harvard in the 1720s continued the trends the tutors had begun. Like the tutors, the average age of appointment for the professors was in their late twenties. Initially the professors were also given term appointments of five years, but by the late 1720s, the term was changed to life tenure. The careers of the professors closely replicated those of the longest-serving tutors. All of the professors appointed prior to 1770 except one served until illness or death forced their retirement. Unlike the senior tutors, however, the professors were for the most part excluded from the Corporation. In fact, during the 1730s, two of the tutors sat on the Corporation while Isaac Greenwood, the Hollis professor of mathematics and natural history, did not. In many cases between 1720 and 1760, the tutors on the Corporation were actually responsible for selecting and electing the professors to their chairs. But no more than one professor served on the Corporation at any given time in the eighteenth century.[27]

Ultimately, the increased professionalization of the tutors led to conflict with the newer professors. Like school masters, the tutors remained generalists, teaching all parts of the curriculum to a single set of students. Nevertheless, some of the tutors continued to hold positions as members of the Corporation and could, theoretically, control the governance of the college. Therefore, the tutors serving on the Corporation in the 1730s and 1740s actually directed the activities of the professors who did not. The tutors also held administrative responsibility for supervising the students both in college and in the town of Cambridge. The professors, on the other hand, were bound more tightly to their specific disciplines and did not provide general instruction, differentiating them from schoolteachers and grammar schoolmasters. After the creation of faculty chairs and the establishment of an externally-controlled Corporation in the mid-eighteenth century, the Harvard authorities began a concerted effort to reduce the tutorship to secondary importance in institutional governance and decrease its professional status. Tutors became the adjuncts to the endowed professorships.

As the size of the faculty increased in the eighteenth century, and most were excluded from the Corporation, separate faculty governance appeared at Harvard. The tutors and professors jointly formed the faculty. No distinction was made between the two types

of positions. They began to meet regularly as a group distinct from the Corporation in 1725. Both had an equal voice in the meetings of the faculty. The new organization usurped some responsibilities formerly assigned to the tutors, however, including student discipline and oversight of the college's physical plant. The 1750s, saw further, purposeful reduction in the authority of the tutors. In the hierarchy of the college records, the professors were listed after the tutors until 1758, but were moved above the tutors in that year. In 1755, the Corporation ordered "that (excepting those who are already Tutrs in Harvard College) no person whatsoever, that shall be hence forward chosen into sd office, shall abide therein more than eight years from his sd choice." Although the professors were appointed for life, the tutors were now appointed to fixed-term, terminal positions. In 1766, the tutorship was reconstructed. The tutors no longer followed a single class and instead each taught a single subject, mirroring the disciplinary organization of the professors. Although the tutors now had the same disciplinary allegiance as the faculty, they were restricted in their length of service. After mid-century the tutorship became a temporary career distinct from the professors. Tutors had to find another post at the conclusion of eight years at Harvard. With Hancock and Marsh's retirement in the 1760s, the length of service started to decline to less than four years on average, a return to the seventeenth-century pattern.[28]

The professors finally subjugated the tutorship in the early nineteenth century. In a final bid for faculty control of the Corporation, in 1824, the professors, calling themselves the "resident instructors" used the tutors' earlier service on the Corporation to justify their attempt to secure faculty appointments to the Corporation. The Overseers rejected the professors' claims but did respond by reorganizing the faculty into departments, each headed by a professor with tutors or instructors assisting. Moreover, student discipline was reassigned from the tutors to a faculty board headed by a professor. Disciplines and professors now ruled academic governance.[29]

Although influenced by the religious divisions of the period, the tutors' dispute with the college was primarily an outgrowth of the increased professional self-image of the tutors. In the 1690s, the Harvard tutors had assumed primary control for Harvard, and had successfully changed the intellectual climate, opening the door for more liberal theology and more progressive thought. The tutors who began teaching in the following years remained longer, a number for the bulk of their professional careers. The theological disputes opened in the 1690s came back to haunt the tutors. In spite of their professional expansions, the tutors were excluded from governance and their authority lessened, in order to secure liberal control of the college.[30]

The development of a professional professoriate at Harvard extended over the entire eighteenth century. It began with the increased professionalism of the tutors in the first half of the eighteenth century and can be seen in their struggle with college authorities. In the second half of the century, the professors extended and continued these professionalizing trends. Ironically, the tutorship was reduced in authority after mid-

century and returned to being a short-term, temporary teaching assignment. Without examining both the tutorship and the professorship, however, the process of professionalization becomes truncated.

* * *

It is true that Harvard may be exceptional. Because of its early founding, it had an institutional maturity by the first half of the eighteenth century that its sister institutions lacked. Nevertheless, the trends at Harvard often have been a precursor for other institutions. It was by no means preordained that the tutors would become second-class faculty. In fact, during the first half of the eighteenth century, their career paths suggested that two different, but not necessarily unequal, types of professional faculty might develop at Harvard as in England. But the case of eighteenth-century Harvard demonstrates the difficulty higher education has with sustaining multiple forms of the professoriate.

Given the changes in the professoriate during the last twenty-five years, the increased professionalization of the tutors during the colonial period can provide important insights for colleges today. In spite of the tutors' position of strength in the early eighteenth century, including seats on the Corporation, life-appointments, and operating responsibility for the college, dual faculty models led to the creation of faculty hierarchies. The professors were able to obtain first-class status, either through their more favorable teaching conditions, the prestige of the named chairs, or the greater freedom to marry, raise families, and settle outside the college. The tutorship was purposefully made a second tier teaching assignment, its tenure restricted and its authority reduced. The Harvard faculty in the eighteenth century was faced with multiple models and with competing interests. The Harvard faculty included both specialists and generalists. Just as the interests of teaching and research-oriented faculty can clash today, the professional standards and models of the tutors and professors clashed in the eighteenth century. The professors won.

NOTES

[1] Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1955), 81.

[2] Kathryn Moore, "The War with the Tutors: Student-Faculty Conflict at Harvard and Yale, 1745-1771," *History of Education Quarterly* 18 (1978): 115-125; Richard Warch, *School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701-1740* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1973), 59-60, 69, 75, 245-46; John M. Murrin, "Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1966). Harvard's founders may have initially embraced a short-term tutorship because of their prior experience at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The desire to train ministers at Emmanuel (a Puritan foundation) was so strong that the fellows were to resign their posts within one year of finishing their last degree and seek positions as ministers. Emmanuel's model was the exception, however. See "Extracts from the Statutes of Emmanuel College, Cambridge," in *Puritanism in Tudor England*, ed. H. D. Porter (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971), 132-94.

[3] *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1925), 15:152-153; Corporation Records, Harvard University Archives, 2:227-229.

[4] William Smith, "The Teacher in Puritan Culture," *Harvard Educational Review* 36 (1966): 399-405.

[5] William Carrell, "Social, Political, and Religious Involvement of American College Professors, 1750-1800" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967); William Carrell, "American College Professors, 1750-1800," *History of Education Quarterly* 8 (1968): 289-305; Martin Finkelstein, "From Tutor to Specialized Scholar: Academic Professionalization in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America," *History of Higher Education Annual* 3 (1983): 99-122.

[6] Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in American Professions* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1988).

[7] Bruce Kimball, *The 'True Professional Ideal' in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), 1-17, 304.

[8] The dichotomy I am describing is not one of teaching and research. All eighteenth-century faculty focused on instruction. The difference between tutors and professors was one of pedagogy, teaching style, and relationship to students.

[9] For a larger discussion of the separation of school teaching from the ministry in the early modern period, see Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society, 1500-1800* (London: Longman, 1982), 79.

[10] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 15: 190, 192, 203, 16:456, 490, 603, 16:528.

[11] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 1:51-53.

[12] John Sibley and Clifford Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge Massachusetts* 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1873 to 1975), 3:183, 200. Leverett's career also extended to governance in the town of Cambridge. Before leaving his position as tutor at the college, Leverett was chosen one of the agents for the town's common land. He also served as Cambridge's representative to the General Court. Leverett's political activities set the foundation for the professor's political involvement during the American Revolution. See, *Cambridge Proprietor's Records* (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wiley and Son, 1901) 208.

[13] Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982), 15-16; Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 479-536.

[14] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 16:827.

[15] Hofstadter and Metzger, *Academic Freedom*, 101.

[16] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1953), 238.

[17] Norman Fiering, *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth Century Harvard* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1981), 295. This view disagrees with Morison who argued that the 1723 Harvard curriculum was substantially the same as that of President Dunster's tenure in the seventeenth century. See Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:147.

[18] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 16:434; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 64-73; Margery Somers Foster, *"Out of Smalle Beginings. . .": An Economic History of Harvard College in the Puritan Period* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1962), 136.

[19] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 64-73; Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 5:92-93.

[20] Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 5:91-93.

[21] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 49:266-267.

[22] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 49:267-270; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 148-162.

[23] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 49:317-320. The tutors also argued that "in the first dayes of the College the Corporation consisted of persons in the College and in the Town Wholly." In the seventeenth century, only two of the Fellows, the two tutors, had actually been residents in the college. It had been Harvard's practice to fill the other three seats in the Corporation with clergymen from the Cambridge area. The president and treasurer filled the other two seats. The treasurer was also from Cambridge until the late seventeenth century.

[24] Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* 64-73.

[25] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 16:470, 480.

[26] Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 8:137-140, 9:67-70; Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 179. Living in the colleges led to the requirement that the tutors maintain a single state. The Corporation once made an exception to this rule in 1701, allowing Samuel Angier to live "from the Colleg" and appointing a "schollar of the House" to take Angier's place in the college. This is the model that would reappear in the late eighteenth century with the creation of the permanent tutorship. See *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 15:368.

[27] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 16:682.

[28] *Corporation Records*, Harvard University Archives, 2:70, 113.

[29] *Report of a Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College on the Memorial of the Resident Instructors, May 4, 1824* (Cambridge, Mass., 1824), 7-10; Hofstadter and Metzger, *Academic Freedom*, 234.

[30] *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 15:clvii-clix.

"A Salutary Rivalry": The Growth of Higher Education for Women in Oxford, Ohio, 1855-1867

MARGARET A. NASH

Historians have written about the opening of Vassar College in 1865 as a turning point in higher education for women, giving the impression that little of importance in the women's college movement occurred before then. Other historians argue that the progression from seminary to college "exhibits no major watersheds;" rather, the decade prior to the founding of Vassar represented a significant quickening in the transition from seminary to college education for women.[1] In the 1850s there were probably more than 45 degree-granting colleges for women.[2] The idea of women attending college, though not without its detractors, clearly had become widely accepted. Schools for women proudly wore the name "college" in a way that would not have been feasible in the Northeast during the 1830s and 1840s.[3] However, the transition from seminary to college did not occur in a simple linear progression, and the lines between colleges and seminaries were long blurred.

Developments in Oxford, Ohio, a small town in the southwestern part of the state, illustrate these blurred boundaries. Oxford was home to three female educational institutions from 1855 to 1867, and they exemplify the variations existing in higher education for women in the middle of the nineteenth century. Western Female Seminary did not become an accredited college until 1894, yet, like many other seminaries, it offered college-level courses from its inception in 1855. A second school, the Oxford Female College, called itself a college without initially offering a truly collegiate curriculum. A third school, the Oxford Female Institute, offered a collegiate department along with its primary and secondary departments. Competition for students and for the support of local church members resulted in each school setting increasingly higher academic standards, while also assuring parents and the community that graduates would be prepared to assume their duties as women. The conception of what those womanly duties were varied according to socioeconomic class. Relatively wealthy students, who were more likely to attend Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College, received ornamental education in addition to academics; they learned music and embroidery along with Latin. Less affluent students, who attended Western Female Seminary, participated in an arrangement in which they performed all of the household labor in addition to their academic work, thereby demonstrating that learning Virgil did not make them unfit for the kitchen.[4] Exploring the interactions and relationships among the three Oxford schools reveals how class differences and local competition shaped the development of higher education for women.

One of the three schools in Oxford, the Western Female Seminary, was a "daughter" school of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Although Mount Holyoke had many imitators, it officially claimed a connection to just five U.S. schools: Cherokee Female Seminary (Oklahoma, 1851), Western Female Seminary (Ohio, 1855), Lake Erie

Female Seminary (Ohio, 1859), Michigan Female Seminary (1867), and Mills Female Seminary (California, 1871).[5] While scholars have written extensively about Mount Holyoke and other schools in the Northeast, their counterparts in the West or South have received little study.[6] The case of Oxford, in addition, exemplifies the close and formative ties between one "daughter," the Western Female Seminary, and the "mother," Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Like its English namesake, Oxford, Ohio, became associated with education. A federal land grant to John Cleves Symmes in 1793 stipulated that land be set aside and held in trust as a site for a college. In 1803, the General Assembly of Ohio appointed three commissioners to locate a college within the Symmes purchase. They chose a hilltop in an uninhabited area near the navigable stream of Four Mile Creek. Miami University was chartered in 1809 as an all-male, land-grant school. It opened its doors in 1824 to 20 students, but by 1854, enrollment had increased to 266.[7]

Oxford's women's schools were founded from 1849 to 1856. Several faculty members at Miami University helped organize the first academy for girls in Oxford in 1830, including Robert H. Bishop, Miami's president, John W. Scott, a professor of science,[8] and William McGuffey, who later became famous for his readers.[9] The academy had a succession of "lady principals," each of whom stayed one or more years until marriage. Each time the principal left, school was temporarily suspended. Desiring something more permanent, Oxford citizens formed a stock company to finance a female institute, and, in 1849 the academy became the Oxford Female Institute, headed by John Scott.[10]

By 1852 the Institute enrolled over 170 students and already was overcrowded. Frustrated by the trustees' refusal to expand the Institute, principal Scott resigned and founded the Oxford Female College, at the opposite end of town from the Institute (1856). Between the foundings of the Institute and the College, Western Female Seminary was launched by Daniel Tenney, a local Presbyterian minister, who looked to Mount Holyoke Female Seminary as a model. The Mount Holyoke model combined advanced academic work with evangelical Christianity in an institution that was affordable to students of limited financial means. Expenses were minimized by a plan known as the "domestic system," in which students and faculty grew most of their own food and did all of their own cooking and cleaning. Chartered in 1853 and opened in 1855, the Western Female Seminary became a Holyoke "daughter" school.

The Western Female Seminary differed from the other two schools in several ways. Western's curriculum emphasized academics over the more ornamental accomplishments, such as needlework, that were taught at the Institute and the College. Western, through its cost-saving domestic system, geared itself toward a less affluent population of students. In addition, because it was associated with an evangelical group of Presbyterians, religion at Western held a more prominent place than at the other schools.

Oxford Female College soon became the largest of the three women's schools: in 1856-57, it enrolled about 200 students and had 18 faculty members. In 1855-56, Western, with 11 instructors, enrolled just over 150 students, while Oxford Female

Institute, the smallest of the three, had just 8 faculty members and an unknown number of students.[11]

All of these institutions—Miami University for men and the three schools for women—were decidedly Presbyterian. Each of the first seven presidents of Miami University was a Presbyterian minister, and by 1854, 175 of the 532 graduates entered the ministry.[12] Oxford Female Institute, Oxford Female College, and Western Female Seminary all were sponsored largely by Presbyterians, but the church was divided. The Presbyterian Church in Oxford had split in two in 1841. Some of the reasons for the split were specific to Oxford and some followed the national divisions among Presbyterians. One divisive issue was joint missions. Since the Treaty of Union in 1801, Presbyterians had sponsored joint missionary societies with Congregationalists, in addition to supporting solely Presbyterian missions. By 1840, some Presbyterians wanted to end this practice. Joint missions were supported by the more evangelical "New Light" or "New School" faction, who believed that salvation could be gained through submitting one's will to Christ and experiencing conversion. On a national level, Presbyterians were also divided over the issue of slavery. Generally, both sides saw slavery as a sin, but Old School Presbyterians were willing to let the South deal with the problem in their own way, while New School members were more likely to be active abolitionists.[13] Oxford followed this national pattern, creating New School and Old School congregations.[14]

In Oxford, the church split was reflected in the different institutions for female education. Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College both were sponsored by Old School Presbyterians, while Western Female Seminary was a New School initiative.[15] The ideologies of each religious division were reflected in the tenor of education at the Institute, the College, and the Seminary. Western Female Seminary founders intended it to be an institution where religion was not "taught in a fashionable manner," but "where the old and tried Christianity of ancient times shall again be received."[16] The emphasis on religion led to numerous revivals at Western. Neither the Institute nor the College were engaged in this sort of evangelism. In fact, the Institute's catalogue stated that while "religious culture...will not be neglected," there would be "no workings of a narrow and proselyting [sic] sectarianism."[17]

"MOTHER" AND "DAUGHTER": WESTERN FEMALE SEMINARY

The founding of Western Female Seminary was largely due to the efforts of Reverend Daniel Tenney. Tenney had studied at Lane Seminary in nearby Cincinnati under Lyman Beecher, one of the most prominent evangelical ministers of the era. Tenney chose Mount Holyoke Female Seminary as a model for the school he founded because his goals for female education were so similar to those of Mount Holyoke.[18] At the outset, Tenney made it clear that Western would offer a practical and affordable education to young white women. In an Executive Committee Report in 1855, Tenney made note of the niche he intended Western to fill. He commented that the "West is indeed crowded with 'Seminaries' and 'colleges' and Institutes for the education of

young ladies," but that many of them are merely "fashionable" or seek to educate "in some one art—or accomplishment—leaving all other branches of education out-of-view." He may have been obliquely expressing his disapproval of the Oxford Female Institute, which listed three teachers of piano, one of guitar, and one of wax flower work.[19] "The result" of such programs, he said, "is that it is exceedingly difficult to find thoroughly educated, practical young ladies."[20] Two years earlier Tenney had written in his journal of his desire "to check the frivolity and wrecklessness [sic] of our young ladies."[21] Tenney sought an institution in which students "shall learn that woman had a work to perform of amasing [sic] magnitude."[22]

Tenney knew of Mount Holyoke through several sources. One was his sister-in-law, who had been a student of Mary Lyon's at the Adams Academy in Dover, New Hampshire. A second source was Mary Smith, the wife of Tenney's fellow Oxford clergyman Henry Little. Smith had studied with Lyon at Ipswich and then started a female academy in Chillicothe, Ohio, with another Ipswich student before moving to Oxford. Henry Little served as one of Western's trustees for many years. In addition, Tenney personally visited Mount Holyoke in 1854, seeking a recommendation for a principal for Western, and making "an earnest plea" for some of Holyoke's teachers to come to Western.[23]

Tenney wrote that he wanted a seminary "modeled somewhat" on the Mount Holyoke plan.[24] In fact, in its early years Western was nearly a carbon copy of Mount Holyoke. Faculty, curriculum, domestic arrangements, schedules, and even menus came from Holyoke. The principal of Western, Helen Peabody, and all of the original teachers were graduates of Mount Holyoke, and some had taught there as well. When these women moved to Oxford, they brought all the details of Mount Holyoke with them. The very first entry in the institutional journals kept by faculty members at Western stated the similarities between the schools explicitly:

> Every day we find ourselves forgetting that our school is not Holyoke itself. All the arrangements of the family and school are the same; many of the public rooms have the same names with yours; the young ladies' rooms, and their furniture - the domestic and dining halls - the wash room - and in short everything bears a decided resemblance to the Holyoke pattern. From the time of rising in the morning until the hour for retiring at night, our bells ring (difference of longitude excepted) simultaneously with yours, and for precisely the same purposes. Our family devotions, our sections and general exercise, and our recess meeting are just the same.[25]

At the first anniversary of the founding of Western, in July 1856, Rev. Samuel Fisher from Lane Seminary stressed the importance of education for women. There once had been debate about the need of education for women, Fisher said, but this was no longer

the case. Among "thoughtful" people, "the full, the free development of the intellect of woman is just as well settled as any other axiom of education."[26] Western was "unique" in "the extent to which it combines the intellectual with the practical." Comparing types of education available for women, Fisher said, "If any man wishes his daughter to be a fashionable doll, let him not send her here; we cultivate no such plants. If any man wishes his daughter to shine only in the light of artistic accomplishments, let him not send her here." Western, Fisher said, is for the "earnest minded woman, inspired with lofty aims, conscious of power for good...no longer a passive recipient or a partially developed flower, but part of the active forces which work for a grand end."[27]

Preparation for God's service did not preclude preparation for financial self-sufficiency. Fisher's 1856 address also commented on the positive effects of economic independence. Rather than calling a woman's femininity into question, Fisher said that self-support "gives dignity to her step," and makes clear that "she is not a plaything nor a loiterer," but a "true woman."[28] This position was restated several years later by a Rev. Field of New York. In his 1862 address to Western, Field said that it is "the duty of every woman" to have "some profession, art or trade that could be made available for her support."[29]

In addition to the emphasis on an education that was both practical and religious, Tenney further aligned himself with Mary Lyon and her desire to help the "middling classes." When Tenney discussed the need to secure a large endowment, he compared women's duties—and therefore their needs—with men's, saying, "for as with young men, who are studying for the ministry, so with young ladies, who wish to fit themselves for usefulness and for the call, they are generally in indigent circumstances and cannot secure a thorough course of instruction without aid."[30] Several years later this theme was repeated in an article about Western in the *Christian Herald*. "[N]o daughter of our Republic" should "lack the means of self-culture," and therefore the cost of an education at Western was such that "any healthful, energetic American girl can command, though self-dependent."[31] Although the primary purpose of the "domestic system" that had been copied from Mount Holyoke was to make education affordable, the rhetoric surrounding the system emphasized other advantages. These included the healthful benefits of physical activity and the fostering of a homelike environment.[32]

Mary Lyon's system of domestic work was greeted with mixed feelings when she first instituted it at Mount Holyoke in 1837, and it was controversial in Oxford twenty years later. The system tended to be misinterpreted: hearing that students performed all the work, some outsiders assumed that the school taught domestic sciences. Dire results were imagined for the poor, over-worked students. Regional gossip during Western's first year had it that eight or ten students already had died due to the domestic chores, and that "many had gone home only to breathe their last." One father, visiting his daughter at Western, said to Miss Peabody that he expected to find his daughter "looking pale and thin, for it is reported abroad that the young ladies are half-starved." Instead, he found that she had "grown fat <u>right smart</u>, and she looks a <u>powerful heap</u> better than she did when she came"[33] [emphasis in original].

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Faculty at Western were pleased to demonstrate that education could go hand-in-hand with domesticity. "Is not a service rendered to female education," one teacher wrote, "every time it is demonstrated anew, that the library and the kitchen are to be found in the same sphere?"[34] They intended to show that education could be incorporated into the "woman's sphere" without disrupting the stability of domestic life. Students at Western engaged in serious academic work, but not at the expense of other, more domestic, duties. Western, like Holyoke before it, pushed the boundaries of female education. The goal was to broaden women's sphere, but not to question the underlying assumption that men and women had separate spheres.

The first flyer published to promote Western made explicit the desire for the seminary to be a home for its students. Students and teachers were to live, eat, work, worship, and study together. Teachers were to serve "in the place of parents," and "family government and home privileges" would be enjoyed.[35] The Western journal is filled with references to Western as "the dear house," "our house," and our "hearts' home," and to students and faculty as our "beloved family." Students referred to Helen Peabody, the principal, as "Mother" and "Mother Teacher," and she referred to students as her children.[36]

Faculty at Western thought of the connection between their school and Mount Holyoke as that of a family relationship, as well. Western, in its first journal entry, described itself as "a young sister of Holyoke; scarcely out of frock and pinafore to be sure, but a very promising child for all that. She already shows a most striking and daily increasing resemblance to her Eastern sister."[37] Journal entries throughout Western's first decade repeatedly mentioned "our Holyoke sisters."[38] Western faculty regarded receipt of the Holyoke journal as "getting a letter from home."[39] An 1857 Western journal entry thanked Mount Holyoke for its "motherly benediction" upon its "Western child."[40]

Western faculty held dear—almost sacred—anything connected to Holyoke. Two tales of tableware illustrate this. In the first, Western faculty and students were surprised with a gift of forks from Holyoke. One day at dinner a fork marked "HFS" (for Holyoke Female Seminary) was found tucked under each person's plate.[41] In the second story, tension arose when someone at Western criticized Holyoke's plates. A teacher commented to the principal (both of whom had been students and faculty at Holyoke) how much prettier Western's tableware was compared to Holyoke's. Miss Peabody turned on the teacher "with an indignation quite remarkable in so gentle a person, and warned [her] never again to speak lightly of that honored willow ware."[42] In these examples, what was held dear was something closely associated with a domestic setting: forks and plates, not globes and rulers or other classroom items.

Given Western's location and strong ties to New England, it is not surprising that the predominant political sentiments at the school during the Civil War were pro-Union. Yet, some of Western's students came from the South, and others were Peace Democrats (who strongly opposed both the war and emancipation of the slaves).

Western faculty chose to suppress discordant political views within Western so that the perception of the serenity of Western "home" life would not be disrupted.

The journal made repeated references to the Western student body being of one mind about the war. It claimed that "every heart in our family beats in sympathy with the cause of the northern army," and that 'our mutual feelings" delighted in Northern victories.[43] The journal included no references at all to differences of opinion among students at Western. But student letters and other personal accounts indicate that there were tense disagreements that sometimes led to physical fights, and that Western faculty were well aware of the existence of opposing political opinions.

In 1880 an alumna recalled that when she was a student at Western during the war years, there were "scraps between the Northern and Southern girls almost daily." She remembered a specific incident in which "a Northern girl actually choked a Southern girl to make her hurray for Lincoln!"[44] A letter from 1864 described students regularly meeting under an apple tree to discuss politics. The student reported that "we have two down right [sic] rebels from Kentucky and about six 'Peace at any price' girls. The Union girls 'pitched' with the others and we came nearly [to] having a fight."[45] Another student reported that the Peace Democrats and the "rebel girls quarrel very often with the [U]nion girls." She cited an incident that clearly came to the attention of faculty, in which students from opposing sides had a fight in the dining hall and had to be separated by Miss Peabody.[46]

In spite of such incidents, the Western journal was noticeably silent about any disagreements. Although Western prided itself on its homelike, family atmosphere, the close bond among students and faculty that was idealized in the domestic rhetoric had serious rifts during the Civil War. The faculty journalists either chose not to report the discord to outsiders, or refused to acknowledge it to themselves. If knowledge of the discord had been circulated to outsiders, the paradigm of domestic tranquility might have been shaken.

Religion was very important at Western, just as at Mount Holyoke, and it was the most frequent topic covered in the Western journal. The journal described revivals and conversions and made frequent requests to Holyoke for prayers on behalf of unrepentant students at Western. Western expected students to attend church services in Oxford on Sunday morning, study their Bibles on Sunday afternoon, and attend evening services at Western on Sundays and Thursdays. In addition, the school held "monthly concert" events at which letters from missionaries were read or visiting missionaries spoke.[47]

Western faculty were deeply concerned about the salvation of their students. They regarded the conversion experience as "passing from death unto life," and as the "birthday of the soul."[48] The most dramatic revival came at the end of the 1863-64 school year. In late January, 1864, typhoid fever hit the school, which appears to have been the catalyst for mass conversions. At one meeting held by Miss Peabody, "[v]oluntary prayers were offered and every heart overflowed with prayer, twenty seven prayers

were offered at one time before rising from the posture of prayer."[49] This led to the "great event," during which students prayed "with the gushing love of those whose hearts God had touched." After an evening assembly led by Miss Peabody,

> there was no need to ask of what subject any were talking as they walked together, for every one knew. As the teachers went around the house at night, they found the girls together praying and weeping silent tears, alone as they tried to come to Christ.... Those were days never to be forgotten.[50]

Some years the conversions were quiet and occurred steadily throughout the year, "not with 'mighty rushing wind' indeed, filling all the place; but with that great influence of sunshine and shower which has made the good seed spring up in some hearts."[51] One year, "from the first week of the year one and another and another quietly and humbly yet firmly and openly avowed herself changed in heart and hope."[52]

With its high academic standards, family-like setting, domestic system, and emphasis on evangelical Christianity, Western Female Seminary was very much like Mount Holyoke. As a self-proclaimed daughter of Holyoke, Western sought to mirror precisely the values, ideals, and plans of Mary Lyon. Faculty and students at Western cherished their connection to Mount Holyoke, and used familial language to express their relationships. Because of the domestic system, attendance was affordable to the "middling classes," and the practical education offered by Western prepared women for the possibility of self-sufficiency. Combining the value of hard work with an evangelical mandate, Western sent young women out into the world invested with the spirit to be active and useful.

"POLITE EDUCATION" AND "THOROUGH TRAINING": THREE INSTITUTIONS FOR WOMEN IN OXFORD

Until Vassar (1865), Smith (1875), and Wellesley (1875) opened, Mount Holyoke was widely regarded as the preeminent institution of higher education for women.[53] As more Holyoke graduates entered the teaching field, they propagated Holyoke ideals in schoolhouses and seminaries across the country and throughout the world. But not all institutions followed the Holyoke pattern. Oxford, Ohio, provides an example of alternative visions of education for women co-existing in the same time and place. Western differed from the other two Oxford female schools in significant ways, and the schools consequently appealed to different groups of students. Western Female Seminary drew students from less affluent families than did Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College, and had a heightened emphasis on both academics and evangelical religion.

Financially, the institutions differed in the cost of the college buildings as well as the cost of tuition. John Scott had grandiose plans when he withdrew from the Oxford

Female Institute to establish a college. Rather than a simple edifice, he built on a grand scale. The 1857 Catalogue for Oxford Female College assured students and parents that the accommodations were "all that our friends could desire. No pains or expense has been spared."[54] The building cost nearly $100,000, and included the newest and most expensive advances in steam heat and gas lighting. Students were attended by uniformed servants and the staff included cooks, laundresses, and maids.[55] The opulence of the College was in stark contrast to the ideals of Mount Holyoke and of Western Female Seminary. Western's building cost half as much as the College's, and as noted above, students and faculty did all of the cooking and cleaning themselves.[56]

The cost of study also reflected different institutional expectations of students' economic backgrounds. Western charged $100 for the 1855-56 school year; the fee was lowered to $60 for ministers' daughters. This fee paid for tuition, room, and board; students needed to provide their own fuel for the stoves to heat their rooms. That same year, Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College both charged over $160, exclusive of heat; instruction in music and drawing cost an additional $100 per year at the College.[57] Clearly, Western, true to Mary Lyon's concern for the "middling classes," was more easily affordable than either of the other educational options for young women in Oxford.

The academic offerings at the schools also differed. The first circular about Western stated that the "intellectual privileges of young ladies should be much greater than are commonly afforded them." Western, the circular went on, would emphasize intellectual and reasoning powers, and would do so in a serious way, "not by ornamenting the surface with the mere tinsel of accomplishments."[58]

One indication of Western's higher academic standards was that entrance examinations were required. To be admitted for first-year study, applicants had to demonstrate competency in English grammar, modern geography, written and mental arithmetic, and U.S. history.[59] In 1862, the Annual Catalogue warned, "If any are not well prepared for examination in the preparatory studies, they are requested to withdraw their names."[60]

The 1854 circular outlined a three-year course of study. In the first ("junior") year, students reviewed grammar, arithmetic, and geography and studied ancient geography, natural philosophy, algebra, geometry, Latin grammar, botany, and history. The second ("middle") year was comprised of studies in history, botany, rhetoric, geometry, Latin (exercises and Virgil), trigonometry, mensuration (systems of measurement), bookkeeping, chemistry, astronomy, physiology, and Evidences of Christianity. During the final ("senior") year, students took Latin (Cicero and Tacitus), geology, natural theology, mental philosophy, political economy, Butler's analogy, logic, and English classics. The course of study required composition in all three years.

The curriculum changed over the period of this study. By 1860, second-year studies in geometry and botany were dropped (although they continued as first-year subjects), as were mensuration and the third-year course in political economy. Bookkeeping was taught to individual students "as necessary," and not as a required course. In practice,

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bookkeeping always was taught to some extent as students were required to present weekly expense accounts to their teachers, recording money spent on books, shoe repair, pens, stationery, fuel, and other items.[61]

Greater curricular changes were in store. By the 1865-66 school year, the course was lengthened to four years instead of three, thereby resembling those in men's colleges. Three years of Latin were now required, and geography and ancient literature were added to the program. Bible study became part of the academic program, as well. During Western's first ten years, then, the curriculum became more collegiate. It moved from a three-year course of study to a four-year course, and more Latin was required. Although Greek was offered as an optional subject from the beginning, it was not required.

By contrast, Oxford Female Institute began with a much less rigorous curriculum. In 1853-54 it included two years of Latin, compared to Western's three years. Several of the Institute's first-year courses covered material that was required for admission to Western. The Institute changed dramatically over the decade, as well. The 1853-54 catalog describes its course as offering a "polite" female education.[62] But just two years later, faced with the competition of Western and Oxford Female College, the Institute's catalog observed that "a superficial course has been one of the serious defects in the system of Female Education," and that "the times require a more thorough training."[63] Not only did the Institute's prescribed course of study now include three years of Latin, it also required one year of either Greek or a modern language. Conspicuous additions were courses that had appeared in Western's catalog the previous year, including political economy, geology, natural theology, Butler's Analogy, and bookkeeping.

The Institute continued to teach ornamental subjects but by 1863 apparently felt the need to comment on and defend the practice. That year's catalog asserted that "a lady's education is incomplete without something additional to mere literary acquirements," and added that many of "the Ornamental Branches are useful as well as beautiful."[64] Students were required to take music or some other ornamental branch.

Oxford Female College adopted a four-year course of study from its inception in 1856, the first of Oxford's three women's schools to do so. An 1857 circular indicated that the school wanted to be taken seriously as a college, arguing that "[n]o respectable male college, now pretends to graduate a class under four years." Yet, the claim to serious academic work was undermined in the next sentence, which stated that women needed at least as long as men because they "are expected to devote so much more time to...ornamental branches." The College so emphasized ornamentals that in 1857 there were nine teachers of music, painting, and needlework, and eight teachers for all of the other subjects.[65]

Western, too, offered the ornamental subjects of drawing, painting, French, and piano. Rather than including these subjects as part of the required course of study, though, Western listed this type of instruction in a section called "Miscellaneous Items," and noted that these subjects would be available "to those who desire...and can attend to [these subjects] without serious detriment to their standing in the regular

studies of the course."[66] Not only were ornamental subjects not required, but some students were not even permitted to take them. For instance, not everyone was allowed to take instruction in music; teachers selected those students who exhibited talent and allowed them to pursue study of piano. Studying piano, however, lengthened the time students needed to complete the academic course. The emphasis was on academics, but to some extent Western also accommodated a desire for ornamentals.

Another example of dissimilar expectations for students is reflected in policies regarding the minimum age required for entrance. In 1855, no Western student could be younger than fourteen, and only those fourteen-year-olds "possessing unusual maturity from previous mental discipline" were admitted.[67] In 1856, the minimum age was raised to fifteen and each catalog thereafter stated a preference that students be at least sixteen or seventeen. Western did not want students "too young for sober reflection."[68] Oxford Female College, on the other hand, opted not to establish an "arbitrary limitation" with regard to either age or academic preparation, but then expressed a desire for no one under age twelve.[69] Oxford Female Institute apparently had no policy on age.

The three schools, accordingly, evolved differently. Oxford Female Institute basically was a secondary school, although it didn't exist long before it began offering collegiate-level courses. Oxford Female College called itself a college and offered many college-level courses, yet highlighted ornamentals and admitted children as young as twelve. Western Female Seminary preferred not to take the name college, yet offered a curriculum that was similar to that of many men's colleges.

The school that chose to call itself a college was the same school that set out to appeal to wealthier constituents, an intent that was apparent from its expensive building and uniformed servants. This implies an acceptance among the more well-to-do of the concept of college education for women, at least in southwestern Ohio, as early as the mid-1850s. In order to stay competitive, though, it steadily increased the rigor of the academic courses; taking on the name "college" without offering the correspondingly challenging coursework was not enough. Oxford Female Institute's catalog for 1857-58 commented on this, noting that the three schools "produce a salutary rivalry, in which, each trying to excel, education may be expected to be carried to a high pitch of perfection."[70]

Competition among the schools was not always friendly. Evidence of tension surfaced in an anonymous letter to the editor of the local newspaper, *The Oxford Citizen*, in 1857. The writer maintained that "[f]or some time past efforts have been made to allay the unpleasant feeling existing between the different [schools]." Those efforts were called into question by the "attempt, by a Principal of one school, to prejudice the mind of a pupil recently connected with another school and thus get her to change" (emphasis in original).[71] Who wrote the letter, which principal is referred to, and whether or not any students switched schools as a result, is not known.

Oxford Female College was continually in financial trouble. Scott's insistence on expensive buildings and maintenance created an unsustainable burden. The Presby-

terian Church soon withdrew its support in favor of helping to finance the new coeducational Wooster College in north-central Ohio that was chartered in 1866. Insolvent by 1867, Oxford Female College sold its building (which later became a men's residence hall for Miami University) and joined forces with the Oxford Female Institute, which also was having difficulties. The new Oxford College persisted until 1928, continually burdened with fiscal difficulties. Ultimately it closed and sold its property to Miami University. The building has been used as a women's residence hall ever since.[72]

Western thrived throughout this period, in spite of having to rebuild twice after fires destroyed the Seminary building in 1860 and 1871.[73] Although it long had offered college-level courses, Western did not offer a course of study leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree until 1893. Accordingly, it became Western Female Seminary and College in 1894 and just Western College in 1904.[74] Mount Holyoke had become "Seminary and College" in 1888, and eliminated "seminary" from its name in 1892.[75] Western ended the domestic system in which all students shared in the work of the school in 1916. As the cost of attendance increased, Western became less accessible to the "middling classes" for whom Mary Lyon had created the system. In 1973, after 118 years of educating women, Western became an interdisciplinary coeducational college within Miami University.[76]

OXFORD, OHIO, AND WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION

The women's schools of Oxford, Ohio, reveal several facets of antebellum women's education. First, the story of Western Female Seminary demonstrates that Mary Lyon's plan for women's education had a broad appeal that transcended regional and temporal limits. Mount Holyoke was not successful merely because of one charismatic leader; rather, the plan was successful decades after its initial implementation, and far from its birthplace in the Northeast. Western faculty followed the blueprint of Holyoke as precisely as they could. Given the different geographical settings, one might expect to see major differences between the two schools reflecting regional variations. That there were no such obvious differences is remarkable. Frequently in the antebellum period, when the head of a seminary left (for marriage, illness or other reasons), the institution closed down. This was not the case with Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke. The replication of Holyoke at Western demonstrated the wide appeal of the plan and that its success was not dependent on the power of one strong personality.

Second, Western was significant for its impact on women's colleges of the post-Civil War era. Studies of women's seminaries and colleges tend to focus on the Northeast as the origin of advancement. Yet, Western played an important role in the development of the Eastern college movement. Henry Durant, founder of Wellesley, was inspired by Mount Holyoke. However, he turned to Western's principal for assistance in planning and designing Wellesley, and it was a Western faculty member, Ada Howard, who presided over the new college. At least three other Western faculty

members became teachers at Wellesley, and a Western alumna became Wellesley's first physician. Several graduates of Western went on to earn college degrees there. One of them, Leila McKee, came back to Western to serve as its second principal, ushering in the change of Western from a seminary to a college.[79] Ideas and resources did not flow unidirectionally, East to West; rather, there was an exchange of ideas and expertise through which Western contributed to the growth of Eastern women's colleges.

The history of these three Oxford schools provides a glimpse of contested ideals of white womanhood based largely on class. The emphasis on either ornamentals or academics varied according to the schools' expectations regarding students' later roles. Oxford Female College, with its ornamental subjects and uniformed servants, and the Institute, with its coursework in wax flower making, connoted a passive and protected view of womanhood that could only be attained by the relatively wealthy. This view is in sharp contrast to that projected at Western, where women studied hard, scrubbed floors, literally served each other, and were expected to put their talents to use in the world after graduation. The evangelical foundation of Western nourished the ideal of utility. The Western philosophy was that any sphere of action was appropriate for a woman, as long as the work she did was "for God."[78] At Western, students learned to unite "womanly thinking to womanly acting," and were encouraged to "labor successfully in the field of the mind" or pursue other occupations.[81] Yet, all three schools raised their academic standards, illustrating that female scholarship became more acceptable for women of both the middle and upper classes. In fact, offering collegiate-level coursework became imperative for an institution's survival in Oxford.

The years from 1855 through 1867 were crucial in the transition from seminary to college education for women. Rather than the college movement beginning with Vassar in 1865, the situation in Oxford provides an example of the ways that women's schools grew toward collegiate status, in both name and curricula. The competition for students encouraged the growth of increasingly academic schools. If Western Female Seminary had not been established there, perhaps Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College would not have strengthened their academic offerings as quickly as they did. Western demonstrated that young women were capable of higher academic work, and its popularity demonstrated that some young women and their parents demanded that degree of rigor. The "salutary competition" that took place among Oxford's educational institutions contributed to the emergence of a truly collegiate curriculum for women in the United States.

NOTES

Abbreviations used in notes:

WCA - Western College Archives
WFS - Western Female Seminary
OFC - Oxford Female College
OFI - Oxford Female Institute

[1] Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York and London: New York Univ. Press, 1994) 28, 12; Kathryn M. Kerns, "Farmers' Daughters: The Education of Women at Alfred Academy and University Before the Civil War," *History of Higher Education Annual* 6 (1986): 11; Roger Geiger, "The Superior Education of Women," unpublished section from "The Transformation of the Colleges," presented at the 1995 meeting of the History of Education Society.

Some women's institutions founded during this period called themselves colleges, even if the education offered was not college level. Increasingly in this ten-year time period, however, women's schools set entrance and graduation requirements on a par with men's schools. One of the first of these was Elmira Female College in New York. When it opened in 1855, the requirements were similar to those at Amherst, although Elmira did not include as much Latin and Greek. Ten years later, Vassar opened, and with it began the era of the endowed women's college. Smith and Wellesley opened in 1875, and Bryn Mawr opened in 1884. See Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985), 47-48, and Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, vol. 2 (New York: The Science Press, 1929), 147.

[2] Geiger, "The Superior Education of Women," 61.

[3] Christie Anne Farnham argues persuasively that college education for elite women was less controversial in the South during the antebellum era than it was in the Northeast. See Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*.

[4] Although Western Female Seminary left extensive records, the other two schools, unfortunately, did not. Even so, some conclusions can be drawn based on the extant catalogues and circulars.

[5] Sarah D. Stow, *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. During Its First Half Century, 1837-1887* (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1887), 327-346. For information on Cherokee Female Seminary, see Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary: 1851-1909* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1993). For a history of Mills College, see Rosalind A. Keep, *Fourscore Years: A History of Mills College* (Oakland: Mills College, 1931).

[6] See, for instance, Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Founding of Mount Holyoke College," in *Women and Power in American History*, eds. Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991); Ronald W. Hogeland, "Coeducation of the Sexes at Oberlin College: A Study of Social Ideas in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Social History* 6 (1972-73): 160-176; Anne Firor Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872," *History of Education Quarterly* 19 (Spring 1979): 3-25; David F. Allmendinger, "Mount Holyoke Students Encounter the Need for Life-Planning, 1837-1850," *History of Education Quarterly* 19 (Spring 1979): 27-46. For exceptions, see Kathryn M. Kerns, "Farmers' Daughters;" Kathryn M. Kerns, "Antebellum Higher Education for Women in Western New York State" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993); Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*.

[7] William E. Smith, *History of Southwestern Ohio: The Miami Valleys* (New York and West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1964), 391; Walter Havighurst, *The Miami Years* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), 13-15, 37, 103.

[8] Havighurst, *The Miami Years*, 57-60.

[9] In 1833 a Cincinnati publishing firm wanted to produce a series of graded readers geared toward Western principles and experiences. The publishers first approached Catharine Beecher, who was living in Cincinnati at the time with her father, Lyman Beecher, then president of Lane Seminary. She declined, and recommended William Holmes McGuffey, then a professor at Miami University. The readers he produced moved away from the Calvinism of the *New England Primer* and instead reflected aspects of Western life. For instance, the *New England Primer* began with "A - In Adam's Fall, we sinned all," while McGuffey's reader began with "A is for Ax." McGuffey's First and Second Readers were published in 1836, with subsequent graded readers following in the 1840s and 1850s. The first editions sold seven million copies; by 1879 more than 60 million had been sold: Havighurst, *The Miami Years*, chapter five; Olive Flower, *The History of Oxford College for Women, 1830-1928* (Oxford, Ohio: Miami Univ. Alumni Association, 1949), 1.

[10] Flower, *Oxford College*, 5.

[11] It is not clear whether all of the faculty members were employed full-time. Flower, *Oxford College*, 24; OFC, *Third Annual Catalogue and Circular* (May 1857), 3; WFS, *First Annual Catalogue* (1856), 3, 4; OFI, *Seventh Annual Catalogue* (1855-56), 3.

[12] Narka Nelson, *Western College for Women* (Oxford, Ohio: Western College, 1967), 20.

[13] Thomas J. Porter, *History of the Presbyterian Church of Oxford* (Oxford, Ohio: 1902), 25.

[14] Porter, *Presbyterian Church*, 24, 25.

[15] Porter, *Presbyterian Church*, 24.

[16] Daniel Tenney, Executive Committee Report, 1855, WCA, Folder I.1.

[17] OFI, *Seventh Annual Catalogue* (1855-56), 15.

[18] For information on Mount Holyoke, see Elizabeth A. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates* (Hanover, N.H.: Univ. Press of New England, 1979); Sklar, "The Founding of Mount Holyoke College;" Stow, *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary*; Louise Porter Thomas, *Seminary Militant: An Account of the Missionary Movement at Mount Holyoke Seminary and College* (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1937).

[19] OFI, *Fifth Annual Catalogue* (1854), 2.

[20] Daniel Tenney, Executive Committee Report, 1855, WCA, Folder I.1.

[21] Daniel Tenney, Journal, WCA, Folder I.4.

[22] Tenney, Executive Committee Report, 1855.

[23] Nelson, *Western College*, 4, 7, 10.

[24] Tenney, Journal, 5 June 1853.

[25] WFS, Journal, 9 October 1855. The tradition of journal writing began at Mount Holyoke in 1845 as a way to stay in touch with Fidelia Fisk, the first Holyoke graduate to become a foreign missionary. Later, copies of the journal-letter were sent to other missionaries. When Western opened, faculty there began a record of events—especially of revivals and conversions—to send to missionaries as well as to Holyoke. A faculty member at Western and one at Mount Holyoke were assigned the role of journal writer; the two schools exchanged journals at the end of each term. Stow, *Mount Holyoke*, 171.

[26] Samuel W. Fisher, "John Calvin and John Wesley. An Address Delivered July 17, 1856 on the First Anniversary of the Western Female Seminary, Oxford, Ohio" (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co., 1856), 49.

[27] Fisher, "Calvin and Wesley," 49-51.

[28] Ibid., 51.

[29] WFS, Journal, 22 May 1862.

[30] Tenney, Executive Committee Report (1855).

[31] McKeen, "The Holyoke System," 7-8.

[32] In *Alma Mater*, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz suggests that the architecture of an educational institution reflects how the school views its mission and its students. Most antebellum female seminaries were patterned after a home. Seminaries tended to be one large building, with public rooms downstairs and private rooms upstairs. Women could enter their bedrooms only by coming through a main, central door, climbing a central stairway, and walking down a common corridor. At most men's colleges of that era, dormitories were broken off into sections, with each section having a separate, and therefore more private, entrance. In short, women's movements were observable, while men were able to come and go without being monitored. The physical setting of higher education, then, perpetuated and reenforced the ideology of separate spheres. Women attended school in a domestic setting headed by a parental authority figure. Men's schools allowed more independence and freedom of movement. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

A homelike environment, in which the faculty assumed parental responsibilities for students, had been the goal in men's colleges in the colonial period. Men's colleges then were small and residential, and therefore the faculty were able to monitor and regulate students. But this was no longer true in the antebellum era. Rapid increases in student population led to a loss of institutional control over student behavior. In 1828, the president of Amherst still referred to his students as "his children," and wanted them to think of him as their father. But to most students, the president's views were an anachronism. In 1842, Francis Wayland, the president of Brown, criticized the design of men's colleges, saying that they "are never constructed with a view to supervision," and that they are open day and night, near "the usual temptations of youth." See Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (1842), quoted in David Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 117. Female seminaries were much more similar to colonial than to antebellum men's colleges in this regard.

[33] WFS, Journal, 7 November 1855.

[34] WFS, Journal, 1 January 1857.

[35] WFS, *Circular* (1854), 7.

[36] WFS, Journals; see, e.g., 9 January 1856; 22 May 1862; 25 November 1862; 12 March 1863; 2 July 1863; June 1865; September 1865; 26 October 1865; 23 May 1866.

[37] WFS, Journal, 9 October 1855.

[38] For example, WFS, Journal, 1 January 1856.

[39] WFS, Journal, 11 October 1856; 19 July 1858.

[40] WFS, Journal, 29 January 1857.

[41] WFS, Journal, 26 November 1859.

[42] WFS, Journal, 29 January 1857.

[43] On one occasion students got up a collection to buy a national flag for the Seminary, and the journalist asserted that "[n]obody disputes" that Western needed a U.S. flag. Copperheads, or Peace Democrats, had a strong following in southern Ohio. The most famous of them, Clement Vallandigham, had a large constituency there. During the 1862 election campaign in which Vallandigham ran for governor of Ohio, Oxford was the site of a pro-Vallandigham rally. The Western journal uses the inclusive "we" to state an opinion of the candidates. The writer refers to Brough, the Republican who won the election and who was preferred by Western faculty, and Vallandigham "as exponents of two great and opposing ideas. We say to the one 'God speed' to the other 'May his counsel be brought to nought.'" When the announcement was made that Brough had won, the journal describes the "enthusiastic clapping and murmuring of delight," and says that "the girls testified their satisfaction by animated applause." WFS, Journals, 13 October 1863; 14 October 1863.

[44] Mary Clark Colquhoun, "Western College: Mount Holyoke's Oldest Daughter," unpublished manuscript, n.d., WCA, Folder VII.C.1., 59, 60.

[45] Letter from student, Jane Williams, 24 September 1864, WCA, Folder IV.J.2.

[46] Letter from student, Hannah Williams, 9 November 1864, WCA, Folder IV.J.2.

[47] WFS, Journals; see, for example, 9 October 1855; 15 November 1855.

[48] WFS, Journal, 15 November 1855; 8 December 1856.

[49] WFS, Journal, 5 September 1864.

[50] WFS, Journal, June 1865.

[51] WFS, Journal, 20 November 1857.

[52] WFS, Journal, January 1858.

[53] Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1990), 30.

[54] OFC, *Third Annual Catalogue and Circular* (May 1857), 16.

[55] Flower, *Oxford College*, 14-24.

[56] There are two different estimates for the cost of the original Seminary building. Nelson suggests that the building itself, exclusive of furnishings and landscaping, cost $33,000. A Circular from 1854 states that the building cost $60,000. See Nelson, *Western College for Women*, 29, and WFS, *Circular* (1854), 7.

[57] Western Female Seminary Catalogues, WCA; Oxford Female Institute and Oxford Female College Catalogues, Havighurst Special Collections, King Library, Miami University.

[58] WFS, *Circular* (1854), 5, 6.

[59] WFS, *Circular* (1854), 8.

[60] WFS, *Seventh Annual Catalogue* (1862), 19.

[61] WFS, *Circular* (1860).

[62] OFI, *Fifth Annual Catalogue* (1853-54), 13.

[63] OFI, *Seventh Annual Catalogue* (1855-56), 11.

[64] OFI , *Fifteenth Annual Catalogue* (1863-1864), 10.

[65] OFC, *Third Annual Catalogue and Circular* (May 1857), 10, 18.

[66] WFS, *Second Annual Catalogue* (1857), 11.

[67] WFS, *Circular* (1854), 10.

[68] WFS, *Second Annual Catalogue* (1957), 12, 13.

[69] OFC, *Third Annual Catalogue and Circular* (May 1857), 19.

[70] OFI, *Ninth Annual Catalogue* (1857-58), 19.

[71] *The Oxford Citizen* (28 February 1857), 3. (Emphasis in original.)

[72] Flower, *The History of Oxford College for Women*, 27-39, 88-100.

[73] Nelson, *Western College*, 55, 71.

[74] Ibid., 95, 108-9.

[75] Woody, *History of Women's Education*, 362.

[76] Havighurst, *The Miami Years*, chapter 27.

[77] Nelson, *Western College*, 75.

[78] *Memorial of the Re-Union of the Classes of '56, '57, '58, '59, '60, '61, at the Western Female Seminary, Oxford, Ohio. May 6, 1876* (Cincinnati: McDonald & Eick, Printers, 1876), 22.

[79] *Memorial. Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Western Female Seminary, Oxford, Ohio* (Oxford, Ohio: Western Female Seminary Alumnae Association, 1881), 106, 180.

"Noah Porter writ large": Reflections on the Modernization of American Education and Its Critics, 1866-1916[1]

PETER DOBKIN HALL

We have yet to fully grasp the reasons why and how colleges and universities came to function both as the central institutions for recruiting and training the managerial and technological cadres essential to the modern state and economy and, at the same time, the outpost of those who criticized and resisted their power. For more than a century, historians have explored the ways in which the Civil War ratified the central state as the dominant force in the American polity. Since the 1960s, scholars have broadened this theme, examining the emergence of a large-scale economic and political enterprises, focusing on the bureaucratization of institutional life. Despite the provocative work of Robert Wiebe, Laurence Veysey, Martin Sklar, and others, we are finding that American intellectual culture and the institutions that sustained it fit less easily into the ideal typologies of modernization.[2]

In portraying the transformation of the American higher education after the Civil War as a conflict between tradition and modernity, between religious and secular forces, between localism and nationalism, between institutional authority and academic freedom, chroniclers have more or less unanimously aligned themselves with the emergent new order and, almost without exception, identified those who resisted it with the backward-looking sensibilities that had held back educational development while the new nation's economic and political institutions moved relentlessly forward. Scholars singled out Yale as the chief promoter of the parochialism and sectarianism responsible for the "Great Retrogression" in higher education, pointing in particular to the influence of the Yale Report of 1828 which advanced a persuasive rationale for prescribed classical curricula, and to its perverse reaffirmation of educational conservatism even after the Civil War through its leadership in the struggle against lay governance and the elective curriculum.[3]

I have argued elsewhere that the Yale Report, read rightly, was actually a forward-looking manifesto for educational reform and that its focus on the "discipline and furniture of the mind," rather than being an attempt to perpetuate an obsolete curriculum, was in fact a bold effort to frame an educational process intended to mold character—to engineer behavior and values in a manner peculiarly suited to the conditions of an economy and polity in which external mechanisms of maintaining public order had largely broken down.[4] In this essay, I would like to advance the view that Yale's role in the post-Civil War struggle over the secularizing of higher education—in particular its resistance to lay governance and the modernization of the curriculum—was more than an effort to perpetuate backward-looking sectarian parochialism. Rather, it actually looked forward to the very real dilemmas facing the

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agendas of intellectuals and cultural institutions in the emergent national economy and was, as such, the starting point of an effort to demarcate institutionally a domain of cultural authority insulated from the forces of mass markets and politics.

Yale was hardly alone in its opposition. Besides the populisms and socialisms, influential and articulate secular writers and journalists like Henry Adams, John Jay Chapman, Charles Eliot Norton, set forth a "genteel" critique of the shortcomings of capitalism and its culture, some even yearning, as Brooks Adams did, for the return of a time when "the wealthy, learned, and respectable united to crush the ignorant and vicious."[5] But Yale's opposition, I will argue, was less framed by nostalgia than by a pragmatic recognition of the limits of the marketplace and those who presided over it.

DENOMINATIONALISM, THE COLLEGES, AND CULTURAL NATIONALITY

Richard Hofstadter was correct in suggesting that New England-based "denominationalism" had cast a broad net: in cities, towns, and villages in the Old Northwest and, to a lesser but still notable extent, the South, graduates of Yale, Princeton, and other Congregationalist-Presbyterian colleges taught, preached, pled and presided at bench and bar, and steered enterprises through the turbulence of a growing economy.[6] In the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville pointed to the fact that one eighth of the members of Congress had been born in Connecticut—a state whose population comprised only one forty-third of the national population.[7] He compared New England's astonishing national influence to "a beacon lit upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth immediately around it, also tinges the distant horizon with its glow."[8]

However pronounced and unmistakable its national cultural leadership, New England's relationship to the rest of the nation was distinctly colonial. Tocqueville spoke of New England's efforts to extend its "influence beyond its limits, over the whole American world."[9] Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes put it less poetically in dubbing Boston the "hub of the solar system" and describing as a place which "drains a large watershed of its intellect, and will not itself be drained," a center which placed other cities in its "suction range" in order to draw off their promising young authors, rising lawyers, large capitalists, and prettiest girls.[10] Through the 1860s and, indeed, into the early twentieth century, Harvard remained a definitively Boston institution, recruiting its students nationally and sending them off to open mining enterprises and manage railroads and factories throughout the country, but keeping control of the institution firmly in the hands of the city's Brahminate.[11]

In contrast, Yale was a more genuinely national institution in terms of the origins of its students and ultimate destinations of its graduates. By 1830, less than half of Yale's graduates had been born in Connecticut (in contrast to the 75 percent of Harvard graduates who had been born in Massachusetts) and barely 25 percent remained in Connecticut after graduation, most settling in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other trans-Appalachian states.[12] Despite this diaspora, Yale graduates remained firmly tied to their alma mater either through involvement in one aspect or another of

the evangelicals' "benevolent empire" of lyceums, missionary, tract, and education societies or, after the disestablishment of the Congregational Church in Connecticut, through the college's efforts to nurture alumni as a source of financial support.[13]

THE "OLD-TIME COLLEGE" UNDER FIRE

As the authority of established churches declined in the second half of the eighteenth century, clerically-controlled colleges like Yale and Harvard had come under pressure to liberalize and secularize their curricula. These demands originated in their respective state legislatures and were evidently part of a broader effort to disestablish religion.[14] When the ministers who ran the schools resisted and government support slowed to a trickle, the colleges attempted to seek support from co-religionists—a hopeless effort in the face of declining support for religion generally and bitter factionalization within religious communities. In the 1740s, Connecticut Congregationalism had fragmented into "New Light" and "Old Light" factions over the Great Awakening—then split again in the 1780s as the more extreme "New Divinity" followers of Jonathan Edwards challenged both the ecclesiastical and political leadership of religious moderates.[15] While Yale managed to maintain its monopoly of higher education in Connecticut until after 1820, it did so only by assuming a stance of political activism that damaged its intellectual and spiritual authority.[16]

Less united to begin with than their counterparts in Connecticut, Massachusetts Congregationalists had long been divided between theological liberals, who were tied to the interests of the merchants and professionals of the coastal towns and cities, and theological conservatives, who still hewed to the old Calvinist "Congregational Way."[17] The legislature had accommodated this division by chartering other colleges, while Harvard drifted into the hands of the Unitarians. Despite this, Trinitarians regarded Harvard as a public institution and, when Unitarian Henry Ware was appointed to the college's Hollis Professorship of Divinity, open political warfare broke out between the factions, which eventually widened into a sectarian battle for control of all of the state's houses of worship and eleemosynary institutions that ended only with the disestablishment of religion in 1833.

Despite almost continuous turmoil over the composition, roles, and responsibilities of its governing boards through much of the nineteenth century, the laicization of Harvard governance was, in the end, relatively painless. Laymen had dominated its primary governing body, the President and Fellows (the Harvard Corporation) since the 1780s and, to a significant extent, the secondary body (the Overseers) since 1812, when the legislature amended the charter to include among its number the senior members of its own upper house. In addition, because Harvard was only one of several colleges in the Commonwealth—the legislature having chartered Williams in 1793, Bowdoin (when Maine was still part of Massachusetts) in 1794, Amherst in 1821, Holy Cross in 1848, and Tufts in 1852—as well as half a dozen theological seminaries and medical and normal schools.[18] Because donations from the rising merchant class had supplanted government grants as major sources of financial sustenance at Harvard by

the 1820s, the question of who controlled the university became of only passing interest to most citizens.[19]

The situation at Yale, however, was quite different. The "Standing Order" of Congregational merchants, ministers, and magistrates was severely tested by demands for disestablishment in the 1770s and 80s. But, alarmed by grassroots challenges to constituted authority (particularly Shay's Rebellion), the excesses of the French Revolution, and the emergence of a national coalition of political and religious dissenters led by Thomas Jefferson, the state's leaders abandoned their differences and formed a united front against the rising tide of "Infidelity."

For fourteen years after assuming the presidency of Yale in 1778, Ezra Stiles fought a running battle against legislative leaders who demanded submission to government control as the price for continuing support. As late as March of 1792, prospects for maintaining Yale's independence seemed grim, as Stiles foresaw either "a total Abolition & Surrendery of the College Constitution, & wresting it out of the Hand of Ministers into the Hands of Civilians" or, as political hostility to the clergy intensified, the chartering of a rival institution—which would definitively dash Yale's hopes for further government support.[20] Suddenly the political winds shifted. Political leaders, who had, only months before, been threatening to destroy the college, suddenly offered a huge financial grant in exchange for minority *ex officio* representation of the college's governing board—and with no other conditions that might impair the clergy's continuing authority over the institution. Stiles immediately recognized the political implications of closely binding together the interests of political and religious conservatives:

> the Clergy will have a particular & special Reason now to preach up for & recommend the Election of religious & undeistical Counsellors; & tho' now & then an unprincipled Character may get into the Council, he may be hunted down in a future Election. It may be mutually beneficial by preserv[g] a religious Magistracy & a more catholic Clergy. It will unite Moses & Aaron. It will extinguish the Jealousy of the Civilians towds the Clergy; and promote a friendly Disposition towds College throughout the State.[21]

The "Act of Union" was part of a far more ambitious conservative agenda. The legislature, which had for thirty years resisted chartering corporations of any kind, suddenly began issuing charters to banks, insurance companies, bridges, turnpikes, manufacturing ventures, and eleemosynary enterprises—including a missionary society whose major energies were to be focused domestically.[22] Placed in the hands of loyal Federalists and Congregationalists, these became components of a tightly centralized machine not only for maintaining political and religious orthodoxy in Connecticut, but for fighting the rising tide of "Infidelity" throughout the new nation.

The election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency in 1800 and the ensuing break-up of the Federalist party ensured the electoral impotence of the "wealthy, learned and respectable," conservatives turned to non-political means of securing public influence. Forming a national coalition of religious, charitable, educational, and moral reform associations (the "evangelical united front") that exceeded the scale and scope of any political or economic enterprises of the time, the conservatives sought, as Tocqueville put it, to "diminish the moral power of the majority" and by discovering "arguments that are most fitted to act upon the majority," always in the hope of "drawing the majority over to their own side, and then controlling the supreme power."[23]

Thus Stiles's optimism about the alliance of conservative politicians and orthodox clergy proved unfounded. The conservatives' united front could not, in the end, hold the line against social and cultural forces that were breaking people out of old habits of deference and subservience. Jefferson's election not only rallied dissenters everywhere, the new President's willingness to appoint his allies to public offices gave them a strong power-base for pursuing their efforts to separate church and state. In 1815, after years of bitter struggle, Connecticut's Federalist/Congregationalist machine was swept out of power. Subsequently, the Congregational Church was disestablished and the legislature chartered Episcopal and Methodist colleges (Trinity and Wesleyan), breaking Yale's monopoly on higher education.

Rather than abandoning its religious ties, however, Yale began to look on them as a source of potential strength. An early effort to raise funds for a professorship of divinity proved so successful that, by the 1820s, friends of the college were proposing a more ambitious national fund drive, drawing on Congregationalists and the school's alumni. Although the effort to raise $100,000 took four years to complete, its success demonstrated that Yale no longer had to depend on government and could look to a new constituency—its nationally-dispersed body of alumni—for financial support.

Perhaps the most important by-product of the success of the fund drive was the effort to systematically organize the alumni as a support group. In 1828, Yale encouraged the formation of a "Society of Alumni" and began encouraging classes to appoint class secretaries, to publish class books, and to hold regular reunions. This created an infrastructure of support on which the college would regularly draw through much of the nineteenth century—without, however, offering these faithful donors a voice in the management of their *alma mater*.

The *ex officio* representatives of government—eight of the nineteen members of the Yale Corporation, remained on the board but, permanently in the minority, they seldom attended meetings. This situation became a major irritant to generous alumni who were denied a voice in governing of the college in spite of its increasing dependence on their largesse.

Thus, as noted, Hofstadter was correct in assigning to Yale the leading role in promoting what he called "denominationalism" in American education, but he erred in so roundly condemning it as a reactionary force, for there really was no viable secular alternative source of support for higher education until the passage of the Morrill Act

in 1862. His suggestion that non-denominational institutions had any possibility of flourishing in the ages of Jefferson and Jackson are not supportable by the facts. Outside of Congregationalist New England, no states were willing to maintain even a system of common schools, much less institutions of higher learning. Although Federalist territorial governors in the Northwest Territory had chartered a number of public institutions, Jeffersonian state legislatures—despite their wielding the power to appoint their governing boards—declined to provide them with financial sustenance, forcing them into dependence on local and/or denominational constituencies.[24] Jacksonians in Congress opposed the government's accepting the Smithson bequest and, when forced to do so, proceeded to squander it in investments in "pet" state internal improvement bonds.[25] In 1854, President Pierce turned back Dorothea Dix's campaign on behalf of the insane by vetoing a bill which granted 10,000,000 acres of land to the of the states as endowments for asylums. "I can not but repeat what I have before expressed," the President declared,

> that if the several States, many of which have already laid the foundation of munificent establishments of local beneficence, and nearly all of which are proceeding to establish them, shall be led to suppose, as, should this bill become a law, they will be, that Congress is to make provision for such objects, the fountains of charity will be dried up at home, and the several States, instead of bestowing their own means on the social wants of their own people, may themselves, through the strong temptation which appeals to the states as to individuals, become humble suppliants for the bounty of the Federal Government, reversing their true relations to this Union.[26]

In the antebellum decades, eleemosynary enterprises which promised to benefit minorities—whether the educated or the disabled—inevitably fell victim to the "majoritarian constraint," leaving primary responsibility for education and charity to religious groups.[27] By the 1860s, American higher education and charitable enterprise generally had been thoroughly localized and denominationalized—so much so that when war broke out, the federal government contracted with the United States Sanitary Commission, a private corporation with significant religious ties, to provide relief and public health services for its armies rather than to its own agencies.[28]

"STRUGGLING TO WORK OUT THE AWFUL PROBLEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT": ALUMNI AND THE CONTROL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Because private entities had become so central to the provision of public educational and cultural services by the 1860s, post-war demands by alumni for a voice in institutional governance at Harvard and Yale took on a visibility that commanded national attention, becoming in effect a dramatized struggle between traditional forms

of authority—exemplified by the leadership of the clergy and local political elites—and the emerging national order that was increasingly identified with aggressively secular translocal control of wealth. Because Harvard's alumni achieved voice without significant opposition (in part because the college's primary governing board, the President and Fellows, had been dominated by laymen since the beginning of the nineteenth century), it attracted little attention. But the efforts of "Young Yale," led by nationally prominent business and professional leaders and stalwartly opposed by no less well-known clergymen and academics, produced dozens of articles in the leading New York newspapers, many of which were reprinted elsewhere; letters for and against the proposed reforms dominated the letters columns in such national periodicals as *The Nation* for months; and "serious" journals like the *New Englander* and the *North American Review* carried essays which argued for one view or the other.

The uprising of Yale's lay alumni began innocently enough. It was sparked by a review in the *New Englander* written by Yale's president, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, of an address on the reform of Harvard's charter delivered to a meeting of alumni in July of 1866, the text of which had appeared in *The Atlantic* in September of that year.[29] In the address, Harvard Professor Frederic H. Hedge had reviewed the history of Harvard's relationship to the State, presenting Josiah Quincy's highly partisan account, which demeaned the state's contributions to Harvard and exaggerated the contributions of private donors.[30] This was by way of justifying recent changes in the college's charter, which substituted for *ex officio* Overseers representatives elected by the alumni.

Woolsey's review of Hedge's address, while observing the important differences between Harvard's and Yale's governance structures (Harvard having two boards, the Fellows and the Overseers and Yale having one, the Corporation) and criticizing Hedge's advocacy of curricular and disciplinary innovations (Hedge favored a broadening of curricular offerings, an elective system, and a system of discipline which placed the burden on students' sense of honor), commented favorably on the substitution of alumni representatives for state officials and suggested that the Yale Corporation would do well to consider instituting such a change.[31]

After reviewing what he considered to be long-standing defects in Harvard's governance, Woolsey turned his thoughts to Yale—and, specifically, the question of "whether a similar plan of graduate election, can be engrafted on its charter with advantage."[32] While asserting that the 1792 inclusion of eight *ex officio* government officials as members of the corporation had worked to the benefit of the college, he criticized the by-law which required that a quorum of the board be based on the attendance of all 19 members. Because the *ex officio* members attended meetings irregularly, it made it difficult for the corporation to do its work. "In this state of things," Woolsey mused,

> we cannot but feel that the connexion between the College and the State is, as far as the deputation from the Senate is concerned, a mere form—a form which does no harm to the College that we know of, but which adds nothing to the

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> efficiency and dignity of its corporation. Men are wanted in that place who will feel it their duty to be present, but it is idle, we conceive, to expect punctuality from the Senators, as the Senate is at present constituted. They change every year, so that the same man rarely reappears in the council of the College. They have no time to learn what duties are expected from them, nor to become acquainted with the condition and wants of the institution. They are in some cases men who take very little interest in the higher seminaries of learning, or perhaps even question their utility altogether. Neither sympathy then, nor knowledge, nor power to uphold a permanent policy belongs to them to any great extent.[33]

Then came the shocker: "let the voters be all masters of arts and graduates of a higher, or an equal rank, together with Bachelors of all the Faculties of five years standing," Woolsey suggested, and

> let that part of the Board now elected from the Senate of the State give place to graduates, who shall hold their offices for at least six or eight years, and be reeligible, when their term expires; let the elections be held not every year, but every other year, or even less frequently; —will not the result be greater interest, punctuality, knowledge, sense of responsibility, and devotion to the welfare of the institution on the part of the new members; will they not, if well elected, be a new strength of their Alma Mater; will they not bring with them views at once enlightened and conservative?[34]

Woolsey's comments galvanized Yale's alumni who, as they anticipated the president's retirement (he had served since 1846), began pushing actively both for a change in the college's charter and for curricular reforms akin to those proposed at Harvard (abandoning the prescribed classical curriculum for an elective system). Alarmed, Yale conservatives, led by Rev. Noah Porter, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, began to mobilize against the laity and their supporters within the faculty.

The battle was fully joined in January of 1869 with the first meeting of the Yale Alumni Association of New York at Delmonico's, one of the city's most elegant restaurants. Chaired by U.S. Attorney General William Maxwell Evarts (a graduate of 1837) and attended by such notables as inventor S.F.B. Morse (Class of 1810) and president Woolsey, along with some 250 other wealthy and successful alumni, the tumultuous conclave received national attention and was covered by reporters from the

New York Tribune and the *New York Times*. "We have come here to-night," Evarts declared,

> to consider the prosperity and the prospects of the College. How much this College has done for us and how little we have done for it! How much this College has done for the country, and how much some of our countrymen, for whom personally the College has done nothing, have done for the College—SHEFFIELD, of New-Haven, and PEABODY, of London. [Cheers.] Among the sons of Yale who have benefited the country, I will mention WHITNEY, whose cotton gin has done so much for our comfort, by giving us cheap cloth, and MORSE, [cheers.] who has put it in the power of the poor man to send messages and receive information which kings and armies could not have collected before.... [Three cheers for Prof. Morse.] And we must not forget those who, without earning fame, have spread the influence of learning through the country—the common soldiers of learning. [Cheers....] To keep alive the interest of graduates different alumni associations must be represented in the college government, as the President has suggested. [Cheers.] Nothing is required but a statute of the State of Connecticut, and now we come to a tract—no, a song—no, a treat.... "Yale College"—our college, of whom the President a hundred years ago said: "*Esto perpetua, Alma Mater Yalensia.*"[35]

President Woolsey, with a clear awareness of the political storm breaking around him, responded to Evarts's rousing speech with a cautious affirmation of his confidence in the corporation as then constituted. The proposal to "place alumni on the Corporation did not originate in any want of confidence in the present Board," he declared.

> So far as the management of the finances of the College is concerned and the proper exercise of their powers, perfect reliance is to be placed in the corporation of Yale College. They never have lost a single cent—that is to say, every dollar ever given to that College is now in their treasury. Here is a body which has such confidence in the faculty that it never undertakes anything affecting the practical working of the College without its having been previously discussed by the faculty and by a committee of the corporation.

Still, he suggested, the disadvantages of having nearly half the board made up of men who took little or no interest in the college—and seldom even bothered to attend meetings—needed to be weighed against the advantages of knowledgeable and committed trustees. Nonetheless, Woolsey pointed out the strength of the alumni's commitment was far from obvious. "The graduates have never done much for the college," he lamented. Only

> thirty-six graduates have ever given it over $5,000; and a gentleman here present, not a graduate, has given more than all put together. Is it likely, then, we asked ourselves, that we can move our College, and provide suitable buildings for it, and that endowments can be raised which are more important than brick or marble?[36]

Without demonstrating their commitment, changing the constitution of the college to include alumni was likely to be "a thing impracticable."

The gathering forces of "Young Yale" elicited ever more vehement responses from faculty conservatives. An unsigned essay in the *New Englander* in April of 1869, reviewing the meeting of the New York alumni, detected more than a little anti-clericalism in the comments of those in attendance.[37] Many alumni evidently wanted to go beyond merely replacing the eight elected officials who served *ex officio* on the Corporation—and were pushing for opening the whole board to the laity.

The conservatives' most coherent and concerted response to the alumni came from professor Noah Porter, who defended the old order in a series of articles "American Colleges and the American Public," which appeared in *The New Englander* in 1869 and were published in book form the following year under the epigraph "it is not necessary that this should be a school of three hundred or one hundred and fifty boys, but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen."[38] (In response, faculty moderate Timothy Dwight, published a series of essays, "Yale College—Some Thoughts Respecting Its Future," which welcomed the transformation of Yale into a university.)[39]

Porter defended the clergy from Young Yale's charge that the clergy were unworldly. Not only had they more or less single-handedly created and managed America's literary institutions, they had been at the forefront of social change in America:

> It is said, that ministers are likely to be slow or behind the age. Some of them are so, no doubt, but so are some lawyers and a good many other laymen—and that ministers, as a class, are behind the age, and are not as ready for every wise progressive step, in morals or education, as any class of men, is a charge which all the recent history of New England disproves, and which the discussions of the great questions of reform which have lately agitated the country ought forever to silence.[40]

Porter likewise defended the clergymen on the Corporation from the charge of parochialism. "In order to its having a national character," Porter argued, the college "does not need to be governed by representatives from Missouri or California." Indeed, he suggested, making the Corporation geographically representative could make it more rather than less parochial. Responding to the suggestion that each of the "Associations of Alumni in the various larger cities of the country" be permitted to elect members of the Corporation, he declared that

> these bodies, being much smaller than the one which assembles at the College at Commencement, would be even more likely to be hurried or engineered into the adoption of ill-judged measures, or the election of unsuitable men. But there are further weighty objections against this scheme. These bodies, located in different cities, have, of necessity, the local prejudices, and may not unfrequently have views which are determined by the sympathies of the region in which they live. Moreover they, all together, include only a section, and even a small section of the whole Alumni. The power of election is thus thrown into the hands of a few, while those who are in the more remote and retired places are denied any voice in the matter; and these more retired men are often the ones whose judgment is of most value, and whose minds are least likely to be carried away by ill-considered views. We see no reason why Boston and Philadelphia graduates, for example, should take this matter into their own hands, while the alumnus, whose work in life calls him to live in Northern Vermont, or the interior of Georgia, is set entirely aside, simply because of his residence.[41]

The very nature of their training and work, Porter suggested, not only ensured that the clergy were better educated than most laymen and more in touch with the broad range of activities and issues that engaged the public, but also—and this was a telling point—better acquainted *as professionals* with the problems of managing educational institutions than the laity could possibly be.

> The graduates of Yale are as intelligent a body of persons, no doubt, as the country contains. They are possessed of wisdom and knowledge and high character, as much as any men. Their opinions, on many subjects, are worthy of high regard. But comparatively few of them, after leaving the College at their graduation, are able to know anything of its interior life. They are widely removed from it in space. They are busily engaged in pursuits which draw their thoughts away from it and which give them little opportunity for reflection on the great subjects

> of education. At the end of five, or ten, or twenty years, therefore, they have, by the very necessities of life, lost their powers of passing an intelligent judgment on questions which arise in regard to the progress or interests of the institution with which they were once familiar as students. They have become unqualified, for the same reason, to decide intelligently who are the best persons to be chosen for the management of its affairs. And it is no disparagement to them to say that they are thus disqualified. The same is true in regard to every department of life. If I have been connected with a college for twenty years as an instructor or a trustee, if I have daily watched its growth and known everything belonging to it, if I have had a large share in raising all its funds which have been gathered in during all that period, if I have canvassed the field, over and over again, and have become acquainted, in this way, with all the probabilities and possibilities of enlarging its means of good, if I have made its work my life's work, and have filled my mind with those things which he within its field of study and of usefulness, I am, for this very reason, better qualified—and vastly better qualified—to judge what is for its good, or what person will be most useful as one of its governing Board, than my classmate who has passed those same twenty years in New York bank or lawyer's office.[42]

Porter's most vehement remarks were reserved for the suggestion that lay trustees elected by the alumni would be more disinterested than the clergy. Making implicit reference to the lurid political corruption involving prominent lawyers and businessmen being daily exposed in regard to the Tweed Ring, he suggested that lay involvement in governance could introduce similar kinds of corruption into higher education. The annual meetings of the alumni, he noted, could

> be very easily "packed"—to use the language politics—in favor of particular candidates, or even by the candidates themselves. They would be liable to have their harmony and good feeling—so large a part of the usefulness and enjoyment of such meetings—broken up by the pressing of "party-tickets," and by the "excitements and ill-feeling."[43]

Further, Porter argued, politicizing the alumni would create opportunities for alumni driven by personal ambition or covert agendas:

> It is the restless and dissatisfied men who are most active on all such occasions. Those who are content to "let well enough

> alone," and see no special change of management to be necessary, will either be absent or will generally be inactive. And the field is thus free for the operations of the former class. Who can doubt that they will, most likely, be successful wherever the conservative section is not roused, as it will not often be, to an earnest opposition?[44]

Under such a system, "the hasty reformers and more selfish among them" would be

> very often successful in pushing their way into the management of affairs. We do not say that this would always be the fact. Perhaps it might not be oftener than in one case out of every three or four. But the election of one noisy agitator, or of a single individual who was disposed to think, in accordance with the declared views of one of the prominent Trustees of a prominent College in New York, that the reading of the American Encyclopedia would be as good a way of educating the mind as the usual course of College studies, might be an incalculable injury to any institution devoted to the cultivation of sound learning.[45]

Finally, he suggested—somewhat disingenuously, perhaps—that the past history of the institution gave little reason to believe that the alumni could be counted on to follow through on their promise to generously support the school, not only because most were not in the habit of giving charitably but also—and more to the point—few laymen possessed experience in "raising money by contributions." "Why," Porter asked, "have the graduates not made larger contributions?"

> There are several reasons why they have not. One is, that most of them have always been men of moderate means, and, until quite recently, almost none of them have been possessors of ample fortunes. Another is, that, in this imperfect world, very few persons give very largely to any object entirely of their own impulse, or except as they are impelled to it by the solicitations of others; and the graduates of Yale do not, like those of Harvard, live in its immediate neighborhood, but are scattered all over the country, where they have never been reached by persons soliciting in behalf of the College.... We do not doubt that the number of gifts, and of large gifts, from the graduates, as well as from others, will increase in the future. We believe it, because the graduates, as well as other men, are growing richer constantly, because the habit of giving is

> extending itself and becoming more settled everywhere in the country, and because there will doubtless be more systematic arrangements hereafter to solicit such gifts. But we do not believe the proposed change in the Corporation—whatever other advantages may result from it—will result any willingness, or increase materially the willingness, of the graduates to give to the College. Money for benevolent causes is gathered in only by hard work. The gifts to Yale College, during the past ten, not to say the past forty, years, have been obtained, in very large measure, because the officers of the College have earnestly and patiently solicited them. The same thing will be true in all time to come, and it will mainly be in answer to their personal and patient solicitations that money will ever be obtained. And the mere fact, that the Alumni are represented in the Corporation by a few honorable gentlemen, will not change the great law of the world. Men will not be inspired by this fact to give largely. They will, in general, give largely, if at all, just as they have done, because the College Faculty—the men who have given themselves to the College, and who live in it every day—go out among them, with all the influence and earnestness which they possess, and tell, as no one else can tell, the story of its wants.[46]

Whether or not we agree with Porter, it is difficult not to be swayed by the power of his arguments. Yale, unlike Harvard, *was* a national institution. Because of this, Yale could not count on the support of a geographically concentrated metropolitan elite, as Harvard could. Moreover, as he ably pointed out, merely tinkering with the mechanisms of representation—whether by introducing geographical or other criteria of eligibility—did not assure meaningful representation of the public interest. Rather, if anything, it created opportunities for special interests. Moreover, the notion that worldly success gave trustees the broad fund of knowledge or the understanding of education needed to run an institution was false on the face of it: indeed, the very capacity for specialized application that made them successful deprived them of the intellectual breadth that made good trustees. Only informed and conscientious professionals could assure that the colleges served the best interests of the public.

Porter's articles to the alumni provoked predictable outrage. At the June 1870 commencement, when hundreds of graduates assembled in New Haven for their annual alumni dinner, their anger boiled over. One speaker, William Walter Phelps, a graduate of the Class of 1860, candidly expressed the feelings of the younger alumni. Phelps was no minor player: the only son of John Jay Phelps, co-founder of the Phelps-Dodge copper fortune and son-in-law of Joseph Earl Sheffield, Yale's greatest single benefactor, Phelps was a successful corporate lawyer and Republican politician.[47] "I speak for the Class of 1860," Phelps began.[48]

> We are gathered from country and city, north and south; we are lawyers and clergymen, physicians and capitalists, judges and editors, representing all the interests of the varied civilization, from whose fiercest current we step for the moment aside. We are here to testify to our love for each other, and our interest in Yale College.

"We have a message," he declared, "the message of young Yale to old Yale, it is what the graduates of the last fifteen years think and say to each other; what they have not yet had opportunity nor courage to say to you." And then he took off his rhetorical gloves:

> the younger alumni are not satisfied with the management of the college. They do not think that in any thing, except scholarship, does it keep progress with the age. They find no fault with the *men*; they find much fault with the *spirit* of the management. It is too conservative and narrow.... The college wants a living connection with the world without—an infusion of some of the new blood which throbs in every vein of this mighty Republic—a knowledge of what is wanted in the scenes for which Yale educates her children—this living connection with the outer world—this knowledge of the people's wants, can be acquired only from those who are in the people, and of the people. This great want can be supplied only by the Alumni. Put them into your government. Get them from some other State than Connecticut—from some other profession than the ministry. Call them, and they will gladly and eagerly come—call them, and with the reform will pass away every appearance of alumni coldness and indifference.... Believe me, men who sit on the Supreme bench, who control the cabinet of the executive—who in all moral and intellectual reforms are the leaders of their countrymen; Yale men, who got their training here, and are as able to manage its affairs as Rev. Mr. Pickering, of Squashville, who is exhausted with keeping a few sheep in the wilderness, or Hon. Mr. Domuch, of Oldport, who seeks to annul the charter on the only railway that benefits his constituency.

Very much in the brash competitive spirit of Gilded Age entrepreneurialism, Phelps suggested that the clergy's otherworldly resistance to change placed the college at a

decided competitive disadvantage, pointing to the decisions by the sons of Lincoln and Grant to attend Harvard rather than Yale. "Don't let Harvard, our great rival, alone have the benefit of it," Phelps demanded,

> let Yale condescend to be worldly wise. The son of a President is a young gentleman about to enter college. Yale says—it is worldly to secure him. We will make no effort to secure him. Saintly Yale folds her arms in true dignity of saintliness, and young Vicksburg goes to Harvard. The press, in a telegram carries the fact to hamlet and prairie, and the fame of Harvard enters a thousand households, for the first time.... Harvard takes great poets and historians to fill its vacant professorships—Yale takes boys, who have proved their qualifications by getting their windows broken as tutors.

At this open challenge to the conservatives, all civility dropped away. The debate over Yale's governance became a national issue—the subject of newspaper editorials and endless letters in national periodicals.[49] The attention devoted to the issue is not surprising, the stakes involved nothing less than the question of who should control American culture—the ministers who had reigned basically unchallenged ever since the establishment of the first colleges, or the emergent class of businessmen and professionals who, as alumni, felt closely tied to the colleges and, as the people being asked to support them, felt that they were owed a voice in them. Moreover, Yale held a particularly important place in the American institutional imagination because so many colleges throughout the South and West had been founded by Yale graduates and because the college's widely-dispersed alumni tended to be the leaders of benevolent ventures of every sort in the cities, towns, and villages outside of New England. The outcome of the struggle at Yale would both serve as a paradigm for the control of higher education in America and, more broadly, for a redefinition of the boundaries between the public and private domains.

For the most part, the debate followed predictable lines, with conservatives defending the prerogatives of the ministers and older notions of "Christian education," and liberals advancing the idea of broad-based secular university training. A few exceptional offerings, which broke new ground, did emerge from the controversy. One of the most interesting of these was written by William Graham Sumner, who went on to become one of the founders of American social science. A graduate of the class of 1863, Sumner had served as tutor at Yale between 1866 and 1869, while studying theology. Ordained as an Episcopal priest, he took charge of a congregation for three years, before returning to the college in 1872 to teach political economy.[50]

The struggle for control of Yale provided Sumner with an opportunity to critique traditional models of educational finance and governance in the pages of the *Nation*. In sketching out his "business plan" for college governance, Sumner added conceptual flesh to Phelps's bareboned assertions of the superiority of practical men as leaders.

Pointing out that no graduate had ever "paid in full what it cost the college to educate him," Sumner suggested that the alumni had a very tangible interest in seeing to it that "the college might hold the same relative position to future generations which it held in their own"—and that this "sense of gratitude...of responsibility" constituted a "resource which has never yet been tried, but which would yield richly" if tapped.[51] "If every graduate who could afford it should give the college ten dollars," he suggested,

> and others should give more in proportion, we should enter on a plan whose financial soundness is unquestionable. We should be paying a debt which we all owe. We should be applying principles which are thoroughly in sympathy with the ideas of this popular and democratic age, and we should reach results which we never can attain by waiting for the tardy generosity of a few men of extraordinary wealth.[52]

Sumner carefully avoided explicit reference to the proposed change in the Yale Corporation, but his ideas about systematically cultivating the generosity of alumni pretty clearly implied the inclusion of graduates in the government of the college.

An active sympathizer with the Young Yale movement and later one of its heroes—when Porter, after being elected president, tried to purge the young dissenter from the faculty, ostensibly because Sumner had assigned the works of atheist Herbert Spencer—Sumner's plan attracted considerable attention. While never adopted as a model for university finance, it helped to provide a rationale for the establishment of the Yale Alumni Fund. Established in 1890, the Fund was a departure from the practice of "waiting for the rich man's thousands," and involved a shift towards systematically "taking the poor man's dollars." Recognizing that "there was more money to be made out of the pennies of the million than out of the dollars of the upper ten thousand," Sumner suggested "an annual drive directed at all Yale alumni" which would allow alumni, according to their means, to repay the subsidy their education had received from the endowment. Controlled by the alumni—not the Yale Corporation—the Fund became a powerful instrument for driving the college towards the modernity it so resisted.[53]

The resolution of the struggle for control of Yale was a less than satisfactory compromise. The Corporation agreed to seek a charter revision from the legislature which, while retaining the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor as *ex officio* members, would replace the Senators with six trustees elected by the alumni and serving six-year terms. The ten "successor trustees"—the self-perpetuating part of the board—was opened in theory to the laity, but laymen would not succeed in achieving a majority on the board until 1910. The price the alumni paid for this concession was the election of Porter as president, which ensured continuing resistance to the curricular changes that were already transforming Harvard into America's leading university.

But the laity took revenge in 1871, when Yale initiated a major fund drive. Reassured by Porter's confident claims that Young Yale represented only a handful of self-seeking troublemakers, the college sought to raise $500,000. The effort was an abysmal

failure: only $172,452 was subscribed.[54] Quite clearly Young Yale, outraged by the conservatives' maneuverings, had closed its pocketbooks to the college. In marked contrast, Harvard's newly enfranchised alumni celebrated the election of Charles W. Eliot—the university's first lay president—by giving $2.2 million in a single year.[55]

The conservatives' grip gradually loosened. After a decade and a half, Porter stepped down and was succeeded by the younger Timothy Dwight, who had taken a moderate position in responding to Young Yale's demands. The graduates greeted his election by organizing the Yale Alumni Fund. But only when Yale took on a business-oriented president, with the election in 1899 of railroad economist Arthur Twining Hadley, did the University finally gain the full confidence of its more worldlywise graduates.[56] They rewarded the Corporation's shift by raising a fund of $1.1 million to celebrate Yale's 1901 bicentennial.[57]

The displacement of clergymen from controlling positions in higher education and charity was a hallmark of American institutional life after 1870. While ministers and denominational groups continued to hold sway over many smaller colleges and community-level eleemosynary organizations, by the turn of the century all the major universities and most of the national associational enterprises had come under lay-control. The final blow was Andrew Carnegie's offer to fund pensions for college and university faculty—on the condition that faculties' institutions sever their religious ties. Laicization was more than anti-clerical, however. It was, more centrally, an effort to replace guild-like forms of professional self-government with decisionmaking by "disinterested" businessmen and their allies. As such, it can be seen as an effort to create a new kind of public accountability—accountability not to the public as represented by government or by professional authority, but to the public as represented by the most economically successful.

BEYOND LAY GOVERNANCE

"Plato's classic scheme of folly, which would have the philosophers take over the management of affairs, has been turned on its head; the men of affairs have taken over the direction of the pursuit of knowledge" wrote political economist Thorstein Veblen, who would emerge in the early years of the twentieth century as the most perceptive and bitter critic of lay governance—and, more broadly, of capitalist civilization. Veblen honed his critical skills at Yale, where he received his doctorate in 1884.[58] As a protégé of Noah Porter's, it seems clear that he was profoundly influenced by his mentor's views on the laity and its appropriate role in university governance.

When *The Higher Learning in America* was completed in 1916, Veblen had the benefit of hindsight in understanding the implications of business control of universities.[59] When Porter wrote *Universities and the Public* in 1869, businessmen had only begun to acquire representation on governing boards and their financial influence was insignificant. By the turn of the century, they dominated the boards of most colleges and universities and, through the establishment of grantmaking foundations, created powerful instruments for shaping the priorities and policies of a wide range of cultural institutions. The power of foundations would become evident following the publication of Abraham Flexner's Carnegie-funded *Medical Education in the United States*

and Canada, which, fueled by investments of more than $70 million from John D. Rockefeller, became the basis for a revolution in American professional education.[60] The Flexner Report helped to create an integrated complex of universities, research institutes, teaching hospitals, and grantmaking foundations operating under the ultimate authority of wealthy businessmen.[61]

Veblen articulated explicitly the notions of professional authority implicit in Noah Porter's earlier arguments against lay governance. Like many members of the "new middle class" of university-trained managers and professionals which came to prominence with the rise of public and private bureaucracies after the turn of the century, Veblen believed that expertise, not money or other forms of ascriptive authority, legitimated power, but he differed from them in a number of important ways. Where most "progressives" of the new middle class were willing to forge alliances with business leaders who demonstrated allegiance to conceptions of corporate social responsibility, Veblen was unwilling to make such Faustian bargains.[62]

"For a generation past," Veblen wrote in *The Higher Learning in America*, "there has gone on a wide-reaching substitution of laymen in the place of clergymen on the governing boards.... The substitution is a substitution of businessmen and politicians; which amounts to saying that it is a substitution of businessmen. So that the discretionary control in matters of university policy now rests finally in the hands of businessmen." Lay control of university budgets, in Veblen's view, created a situation in which "men of affairs" were able to decide "what the body of academic men that constitutes the university may or may not do with the means in hand; that is to say, their pecuniary surveillance comes in the main to an interference with the academic work, the merits of which these men of affairs on the governing board are in no special degree qualified to judge."[63]

Lay trustees did not bring their business acumen to bear on the actual day-to-day management of university finances—this task was delegated to a growing cadre of administrators. "These governing boards of businessmen commonly are quite useless to the university for any businesslike purpose.... Their sole effectual function," Veblen declared, was "to interfere with the academic management in matters that are not of the nature of business, and that lie outside their competence and outside the range of their habitual interest."[64]

Veblen tied his dark view of university governance to a more sweeping critique of American civilization, in which the public had irrationally entrusted control of its most central activities to men who, in his view, were little better than criminals. "The spirit of American business is a spirit of quietism, caution, compromise, collusion, and chicane....

> Success in business affairs...comes only by getting something for nothing. And, barring accidents and within the law, it is only the waiting game and the defensive tactics that will bring gains of that kind, unless it be strategy of the nature of finesse and chicane. Now it happens that American conditions during

> the past one hundred years have been peculiarly favourable to the patient and circumspect man who will rather wait than work; and it is also during these hundred years that the current traditions and standards of business conduct and of business-like talent have taken shape and been incorporated in the community's common sense. America has been a land of free and abounding resources; which is to say, when converted into terms of economic theory, that it is the land of the unearned increment. Putting aside the illusions of public spirit and diligent serviceability, sedulously cultivated by the apologists of business, it will readily be seen that the great mass of reputably large fortunes in this country are of such an origin; nor will it cost anything beyond a similar lesion to the affections to confirm the view that such is the origin and line of derivation of the American propertied business community and its canons of right and honest living.[65]

Corrupt and exploitative, capitalists grew wealthy on the ideas and energy of the genuinely talented and learned. Pecuniary standards replaced standards of craft and quality. And the market ethos eroded universities' commitment to intellectual excellence. The undergraduate curriculum came to be viewed as "introductory to those social amenities that devolve on the successful man of business" and "university training" came to mean those "practical" branches of knowledge (Law, Politics, Accountancy, etc.).[66] These shifted the primary goals of higher education from the pursuit and diffusion of knowledge to the acquisition of wealth. Veblen saw little hope for reform because this "perversion" of education was grounded in the indisputable hegemony of private enterprise over every aspect of American life.

Though some might argue that "business principles do or can pervade the corporate management of the universities in anything like the degree here implied," Veblen believed that this view underestimated the extent to which "effective surveillance of the academic work is exercised through the board's control of the budget. The academic staff can do little else than what the specifications of the budget provide for; without the means with which the corporate income should supply them they are as helpless as might be expected."[67] Business values, he believed, led boards to prefer short-term tangible returns over

> those intangible, immaterial uses for which the university is established. These uses leave no physical, tangible residue, in the way of durable goods, such as will justify the expenditure in terms of vendible property acquired; therefore they are *prima facie* imbecile, and correspondingly distasteful, to men whose habitual occupation is with the acquisition of property. By force of the same businesslike bias the boards unavoidably incline to apportion the funds assigned for current expenses in

> such a way as to favour those "practical" or quasi-practical lines of instruction and academic propaganda that are presumed to heighten the business acumen of the students or to yield immediate returns in the way of a creditable publicity.[68]

To those who claimed that strong presidential leadership could effectively counteract the anti-intellectualism of the laity, Veblen pointed out the importance of boards' role in selecting academic leaders:

> where the power of appointment lies freely in the discretion of such a board, the board will create an academic head in its own image. In point of notorious fact, the academic head of the university is selected chiefly on grounds of his business qualifications.... New incumbents are selected primarily with a view to give the direction of academic policy and administration more of a businesslike character. The choice may not always fall on a competent businessman, but that is not due to its inclining too far to the side of scholarship. It is not an easy matter even for the most astute body of businessmen to select a candidate who shall measure up to their standard of businesslike efficiency in a field of activity that has substantially nothing in common with that business traffic in which their preconceptions of efficiency have been formed.[69]

Nor did he see the alumni as a significant counterforce. "It follows as an inevitable consequence of the current state of popular sentiment," Veblen wrote,

> that the successful businessmen among the alumni will have the deciding voice, in so far as the matter rests with the alumni; for the successful men of affairs assert themselves with easy confidence, and they are looked up to, in any community whose standards of esteem are business standards, so that their word carries weight beyond that of any other class or order of men. The community at large, or at least that portion of the community that habitually makes itself heard, speaks to the same effect and on the same ground, viz., a sentimental conviction that pecuniary success is the final test of manhood. Business principles are the sacred articles of the secular creed, and business methods make up the ritual of the secular cult.[70]

The result, Veblen argued, was that business trustees invariably delegated academic leadership to "one of their own kind"—"a businesslike "educator" or clergyman, some urbane pillar of society, some astute veteran of the scientific demi-monde."[71]

Though Veblen's critique of lay governance may have been intemperate, it was symptomatic of the growing distrust between increasingly professionalized academics and the businessmen and corporate lawyers who had come, during the previous generation, to control and finance American higher education. In part this was an expression of resentment by the scholars and clergymen—the pillars of the "genteel tradition"—who had been displaced by the business takeover of the nation's central economic, political, and social, and cultural institutions: as aesthetes like John Jay Chapman would sneer, "Eliot [Harvard's president] goes about in a cab with Pierpont [Morgan], hangs laurel wreaths on his nose, and gives him his papal kiss. Now...what has Eliot got to say to the young man entering business or politics who is about to be corrupted by Morgan and his class?"[72] His contemporary, Henry Adams would bemoan his student's belief that "the degree of Harvard College is worth money to me in Chicago" as yet another example of the decline of the civilization.[73] The Left, with which Veblen was more identified, had its own reasons for denouncing business control of the universities. But connecting both was a common conviction that "men of learning...ought to occupy the strategic loci of social control" in the emerging institutional order of modern society.[74]

By the turn of the century, scholars had been pushed aside, as "hand in hand with the dollar, the businessmen marched into the control room of Academe: "between 1860 and 1900, the percentage of businessmen on university boards increased from 23 to 26 percent, of bankers, from 5 to 13 percent, of lawyers from 21 to 26 percent—while the percentage of educators increased from only 5 to 8 percent.[75] A measure of faculties' loss of voice is their diminishing contribution to university fund drives: in the Yale fund drives of 1830, 1854, and 1870, faculty were leading contributors, giving nearly 10 percent of the whole amount raised, often as lead donors. By the 1926 drive, in which two-thirds of the $21 million raised came in the form of subscriptions of over $5,000, faculty contributions were insignificant. In the larger universities, faculty had become employees and increasingly regarded their boards—not without good reason in many cases—as hostile to the academic enterprise.[76] However exaggerated the criticisms of Veblen, Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Harold Laski, William H. Allen, Horace Coon, Eduard Lindemann, Gustavus Myers, and Ferdinand Lundberg, they were a portent of the adversarial spirit that would increasingly characterize board-staff relationships in the twentieth century.[77]

CONCLUSION

It seems peculiarly ironic that mid-twentieth century public intellectuals like Richard Hofstadter chose to identify themselves—and the cause of academic freedom—with the businessmen who seized control of America's cultural institutions after the Civil War. His doing so is symptomatic of a deep confusion of the liberal sensibility of that time which, in its construction of "modernism," tended almost irresistibly to conflate a number of seemingly incompatible cultural, economic, and political forces. This version of modernism curiously combines two unlikely strands: the first, characterized

by a radically individualist rebellion against traditional ideas, forms, and standards (evident in the abandonment of classical literary, architectural, and decorative forms for the sake of a more "functional" aesthetic); the second, an ethos which placed individuals and their skills in the service of the corporate state (evident in the extent to which modern art and literature benefited from the patronage of the wealthy and its products were collected and enshrined in institutions which uncompromisingly—if not brutally—asserted the pride and confidence of those who controlled economic life).

In his 1869 articles on the "New Education," Charles W. Eliot's manifesto for the reform of American higher education, the man who would shortly become the most powerful figure in the nation's institutional life wrote admiringly of the relationship between universities and business in the advanced industrial economies of Europe. "Sixty years ago, in France, the first Napoleon made great changes, mostly useful ones, in methods of education," he declared.

> For more than a generation the government schools of arts and trades, arts and manufactures, bridges and highways, mines, agriculture, and commerce, have introduced hundreds of well-trained young men every year into the workshops, factories, mines, forges, public works, and counting rooms of the empire. These young men begin as subalterns, but soon become the commissioned officers of the army of industry.[78]

"The American people are fighting a wilderness, physical and moral...for this fight they must be trained and armed," he continued, suggesting that only a similar set of relationships between education and economic life would enable the nation "to work out the awful problem of self-government" and develop the "prodigious material resources of a vast and new territory."[79] He would amplify this theme in his inaugural address as Harvard's president, on the one hand calling for the application to "mental activities the principle of division of labor" and, on the other, warning that educators' "lack of faith in the prophecy of a natural bent, and in the value of a discipline concentrated upon a single object, amounts to a national danger."[80] Challenging the model of educational prescription that had dominated American higher education since the Yale Report of 1828, he declared that

> the civilization of a people may be inferred from the variety of its tools. There are thousands of years between the stone hatchet and the machine-shop. As tools multiply, each is more ingeniously adapted to its own exclusive purpose. So with the men that make the State.[81]

Eliot fostered an educational method that placed an almost religious emphasis on the development of an individual's intellectual calling. "When the revelation of his own

peculiar taste and capacity comes to a young man," Eliot wrote in explaining the elective system, "let him reverently give it welcome, thank God, and take courage. Thereafter he knows his way to happy, enthusiastic work, and, God willing, to usefulness and success." But he framed that intensely individualized calling with an ethos of service and located it within a corporate command structure. "For the individual, concentration, and the highest development of his own peculiar faculty, is the only prudence," Eliot proclaimed. "But for the State, it is variety, not uniformity, of intellectual product, which is needful."[82]

In 1869, Eliot had begun his essays on the "New Education" by asking "What can I do with my boy?" Forty years later, "commissioned officers of the army of industry" like Harvard-trained Herbert Croly would echo both the question and the answer which attested to the power of Eliot's vision. "What the individual can do" to fulfill the American national promise, Croly wrote in the progressives' sweeping blueprint for social transformation, is

> to make himself a better instrument for the practice of some serviceable art, and by so doing he can scarcely avoid becoming also a better instrument for the fulfillment of the American national Promise. To be sure, the American national Promise demands for its fulfillment something more than efficient and excellent individual instruments. It demands, or will eventually demand, that these individuals shall love and wish to serve their fellow-countrymen, and it will demand specifically that in the service of their fellow-countrymen, they shall reorganize their country's economic, political, and social institutions and ideas.[83]

It was this tradition of corporate liberalism, which so curiously but effectively consolidated radical individualism with powerful institutional mechanisms for collective action that Hofstadter, the preeminent spokesman for the academic liberalism of the mid-twentieth century, would defend in his paradigmatic accounts of American educational history.

The institutional order which Hofstadter and his contemporaries defended against the New Right of the 1950s and 60s now lies shattered. "Modernism," once a term that in its heyday connoted not merely an aesthetic orientation, but a "best and brightest" worldview that summarized the consolidated powers of science, economic freedom, the marketplace of ideas, and leadership of the Free World, is now almost as much of a curiosity as Victorian manners and mores were to the modernist/liberals. Divorced from the power complex for which it served as legitimating myth "Modernism" is just another of many "isms." This paradigm shift enables us to reexamine the development of central institutions—including the institution most central to the rise of the "modern" state and economy—and empowers us to view it critically rather than compelling us to accept it as a canonical representation of irresistible progress.

Viewed through postliberal conceptual lenses, seeming evolutionary dead-ends like Noah Porter's educational ethos, which sought to equip young men to understand that rationality was bounded, that there were sources of truth besides the marketplace, and that the idea of duty in one's calling could be more than the ghost of dead religious beliefs, take on a peculiar resonance. Porter's legacy may not have been—as Hofstadter and other progressivist scholars believed—the last stand of Protestant parochialism, but the critical tradition represented by his student Thorstein Veblen.

NOTES

[1] The research on which this paper is based has been generously supported by the AAFRC Trust for Philanthropy, the Aspen Institute's Nonprofit Sector Research Fund, the Lilly Endowment, Inc., and the Program on Non-Profit Organizations, Yale University. The paper draws on a larger study commissioned by the National Center on Nonprofit Boards that will appear under the title "Remedying the Incompleteness of Democracy: An Overview of Board Governance in America."

[2] The discovery of modernization, professionalization, and bureaucracy as underlying themes of post-Civil War American history began in the 1960s and grew out of Richard Hofstadter's efforts to use sociological theory to explain American reform movements. Because Hofstadter's work focused attention on the educational and occupational backgrounds of political actors, it profoundly influenced thinking in both the historiographical mainstream and in the embryonic community of educational historians.

Certainly the most influential of the efforts to reconceptualize the past in these terms is Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967). Other scholars carried the concept into particular domains of activity. Among the more notable of these efforts are Laurence Veysey, *Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970) and Alfred D. Chandler, *Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965). Two important articles by Louis Galambos summarize and assess the implications of this body of work: "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in American History," *Business History Review* 44 (Autumn 1970) and "Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalization," *Business History Review* 57 (1982). While the work of Wiebe, Veysey, and Chandler tended to celebrate modernization and its institutional correlates, later scholarship, while elaborating on the implications of these trends, also criticized historians' uncritical appropriation of social science grand theory. Martin J. Sklar, *Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988) is both a brilliant elucidation of the culture of capitalism and a critique of its interpretation. Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1978), is essential to understanding the virtues and vices of this type of theoretically-informed (and often misinformed) historiography. For a critique of the problematic relationship between the historiographies of business and education within this framework, see Peter Dobkin Hall, "The Managerial Revolution, the Institutional Infrastructure, and the Problem of Human Capital," in "Review Symposium on the Comparative Historical Analysis of Nonprofit Sectors," *Voluntas* 7, no. 1 (1996).

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[5]The most notable expressions of this historiographic reflex is to be found in Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1955) and in Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961). To his credit, Frederick Rudolph admitted the possibility that the Yale Report was more than a reactionary effort to resist the forces of modernization—see *The American College and University—A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 130-34—but his more nuanced perspective was largely by-passed in the rush to embrace more theoretically-driven (and ideologized) interpretations. Of the historians of Yale, George W. Pierson, offered a lukewarm defense of the "Old Time College" in *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1952). Pierson's protégé, John S. Whitehead provided the most dispassionate detailed, and contextualized accounts of the national dimensions of the laicization of university governance (*The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776-1876* [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1973]). Brooks Mather Kelley's 1974 history of the university, clearly influenced by Hofstadter and Metzger, displayed his contempt for Yale's resistance to secularization by titling his chapter on the Porter era "Stagnation" (*Yale: A History* [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press]).

[6] Peter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1799-1900: Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1982). My speculations are supported by the recent work of Robert Finke and Rodney Stark, whose *Churching of America, 1776-1990* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1992) suggests that, contrary to conventional wisdom, perhaps no more than 20 percent of Americans in 1800 belonged to churches.

[7] Brook Adams, *The Emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887).

[8] For a good overview of this, see George W. Pierson, *The Education of American Leaders: The Comparative Contributions of U.S. Colleges and Universities* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969). See also Bailey Burritt's classic, *Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912).

[9] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), I:303.

[10] Ibid., 32.

[11] Ibid., 32.

[12] Oliver Wendell Holmes, *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), 21-23.

[13] Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and Boston's Upper Class, 1800-1970* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1981), 89-134; Seymour Harris, *The Economics of Harvard* (New York: McGraw-Hill), xxiii.

[14] On this, see George W. Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers: Historical Statistics of the College and University, 1701-1976* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1983) and Hall, *Organization of American Culture*, 161-62, 310-11. The best raw sources on the nativity and residence of Yale graduates are Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Yale Annals and Biographies* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903), which covers graduates of college for the years 1701-1815, Dexter, *Biographical Notices of Graduates of Yale College: Including Those Graduated in Classes later than 1815, Who Are Not Commemorated in the Annual Obituary Records* (New Haven:

Yale Univ., 1913), and the *Yale Obituary Record*, published between 1841 and 1951, which contains biographies of all degree recipients roughly between 1815 and 1950.

[14] In recent years, a great deal of able work has been done on the "benevolent empire" created by the evangelicals. The best overviews include Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism & Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957); Clifford S. Griffen, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1960); and Charles I. Foster, *Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1792-1837* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1961). For a more recent interpretation of the role of evangelical Protestants in originating voluntary associations, see Peter Dobkin Hall, "Religion and the Organizational Revolution in the United States," in *Sacred Companies: Organizational Aspects of Religion and Religious Aspects of Organizations*, ed. N.J. Demerath, et al. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, in press) and "Religion and the Origins of Voluntary Associations," PONPO Working Paper #213 (New Haven: Program on Non-Profit Organizations, Yale Univ., 1994).

[15] Thus, for example, as Ezra Stiles makes quite clear in his diary, his 1777 "Plan of a University," proposing the establishment of professorships in law, medicine, history, and belles-lettres, was intended to make Yale appear less sectarian and more public-serving in the hope of persuading the legislature to renew its annual grants in support of the college. Ezra Stiles, *Literary Diary* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1901), II:207-208. By far the best source on the general issue of college-government relationships is John S. Whitehead, *The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776-1876* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1973).

[16] On the intricacies of ecclesiastical politics in eighteenth century Connecticut, see Sidney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), 403-28; Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967); Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1942). Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1962) gives a particularly good account of the politics of "New Divinity" faction in the 1780s and 90s.

[17] Richard Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1817* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1963).

[18] In the early eighteenth century, Connecticut Congregationalists had moved from loose alliances between autonomous congregations towards a more centralized presbyterian polity, in which authority shifted to "associations" and "consociations" of ministers and elders. This enabled the church to define and enforce orthodoxy and—except in the face of broad-based challenges such as the Great Awakening—prevented the kind of factionalization characteristic of Massachusetts's churches. The best source on the differences between Massachusetts and Connecticut Congregationalism is Henry Martyn Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in Its Literature* (London: Hudder & Stoughton, 1879). The protracted struggle over ecclesiastical polities and authority structures significantly paralleled and at times converged with conflicts over university governance.

[19] The best source on the proliferation of education institutions and their denominational ties is Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional Hypothesis* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1982).

[19] On developing merchant group influence at Harvard, see Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy*.

[20] Stiles, *Literary Diary*, III:457.

[21] Ibid., III:457-58.

[22] On corporations as part of the Federalist-Congregationalist machine, see Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*. See also Peter Dobkin Hall, "Organizational Values and the Origins of the Corporation in Connecticut, 1769-1860," *Connecticut History* 29 (November 1988): 63-90.

[23] Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I:203. Only the University of Virginia and South Carolina College received regular state appropriations before 1860.

[24] The Jeffersonians, like their leader, favored education in principle—but were seldom willing to devote resources to its support. In 1779, Jefferson persuaded Virginia's General Assembly to vote in favor of establishing a system of common schools—but neither succeeded in persuading it to allocate funds for its support nor showed himself willing to make it a major political priority. In areas like the Old Northwest, where migrants from Federalist New England and the Jeffersonian South settled in relatively equal numbers, the contrasts in institutional orientation became especially evident—with the latter showing themselves especially parsimonious with regard to supporting education and other eleemosynary enterprises. On this, see Peter Dobkin Hall, "The Spirit of the Ordinance of 1787: Organizational Values, Voluntary Associations, and Higher Education in Ohio, 1803-1830," in *Schools and the Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged: A History of Education in the Old Northwest*, ed. P. H. Mattingly and E. E. Stevens, Jr. (Athens: Ohio Univ. Libraries, 1987), 97-114, and Peter Dobkin Hall, "Cultures of Trusteeship in the United States," in *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit* Organizations, Peter Dobkin Hall (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1992), 144-170.

[25] On the debate over the Smithsonian, see William J. Rhees, ed., *The Smithsonian Institution: Documents Relative to Its Origin and History*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections XVII, Publ. No. 328 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1879), 1-2, 58-62, 135-46, 148-54, 763-801.

[26] Franklin Pierce, "Veto Message, May 3, 1854." *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1898), V:201.

[27] On the majoritarian constraint, see Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971). See also James Douglas, "Political Theories of Nonprofit Organization," in *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*, ed. W. W. Powell (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), 43-54.

[28] The best overview of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and its significance is George M. Frederickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). The politics of wartime relief indicate a complexity in religious institutional sponsorship that largely eludes Hofstadter. By the 1850s, Protestants had split on the question of institutionalizing charitable efforts, with the conservatives (Baptists and Methodists) opposing large-scale organizational efforts and the liberals (Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Unitarians) favoring them. The conservatives, concerned with the spiritual values implicit in charity, stressed locally-based and voluntary efforts—and,

to these ends, not only battled the liberals for control of the Sanitary Commission, but organized a counter-entity, the United States Christian Commission. The liberals, concerned with efficiency and effectiveness, sought to maintain the Sanitary Commission's national character and endeavored to implement professional standards. Sensitivity to these nuances of theology and organizational preference are essential to understanding both the struggle over Reconstruction (which again brought the two major Protestant factions head-to-head) and contention over the control of institutions like Yale.

[29] Frederic H. Hedge, "University Reform: An Address to the Alumni of Harvard, at Their Triennial Festival, July 19, 1866," *Atlantic* (September 1866): 296-307.

[30] On Josiah Quincy's distortions of Harvard's financial history, see Seymour Harris, *Economics of Harvard*, xvi, 240-243.

[31] Theodore Dwight Woolsey, "Dr. Hedge's Address to the Alumni of Harvard," *New Englander* 25, no. 4 (October 1866): 695-711.

[32] Ibid., 699.

[33] Ibid., 700-01.

[34] Ibid., 701.

[35] "Yale Alumni Dinner—A Pleasant Gathering at Delmonico's—Speeches of Hon. Wm. M. Evarts and Others." *New York Tribune* (30 January 1869). See also "Dinner of Yale Alumni," *New York Times* (30 January 1869), and "Yale College—The Dinner of the New York Alumni of Yale College." Editorial, *New York Times* (1 February 1869).

[36] Ibid.

[37] "Meeting of the New York Alumni," *New Englander* (April 1869).

[38] Noah Porter, "American Colleges and the American Public," *New Englander* 28 (2): 272-291. Porter's essay appeared in six successive issues of the *New Englander* and was subsequently published in book form in 1870.

[39] Timothy Dwight, "Yale College—Some Thoughts Respecting Its Future," *New Englander* (July 1870-October 1871).

[40] Porter, "American Colleges," 275.

[41] Ibid., 283-84.

[42] Ibid., 285-87.

[43] Ibid., 232.

[44] Ibid., 282.

[45] Ibid., 283.

[46] Ibid., 289-90.

[47] On Phelps, see biographical material in the successive year books of the Class of 1860 and his obituary in the 1894 *Obituary Record*. After graduating from Yale, Phelps received a law

degree from Columbia in 1863. He served as a member of the Yale Corporation (1872-1892) and on the governing board of Yale's Sheffield Scientific School (1871-1894). Active in public life, he served in the United States Congress (1872-74, 1882-88), as ambassador to Austria (1881-82) and Germany (1889-93), and as Judge of the New Jersey Court of Errors (1893-94).

[46] "Speech of William Walter Phelps," *The College Courant* (23 July 1870), 71-2.

[47] In addition to the articles cited in this paper, the public debate over Yale governance also included offerings from Daniel Coit Gilman (who had hoped to succeed Woolsey as president) and James Dwight Dana. See Gilman, "Proposed Change in the Corporation of Yale College," *Nation* (25 May 1870) and Dana, "What Yale College Needs," *Nation* (25 May 1871).

[48] Harris E. Starr, *William Graham Sumner* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925).

[49] W. G. Sumner, "The Ways and Means of Our Colleges." *The Nation* 271 (8 September 1870): 154.

[50] Ibid., 154.

[51] Ibid., 154. On the Alumni Fund, see Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 277ff., and Pierson, *Yale College*, 62, 588.

[52] Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 271.

[53] Harris, *Economics of Harvard*, 270.

[54] On Hadley, see Morris Hadley, *Arthur Twining Hadley* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1948) and Kelley, *Yale: A History*, 315ff. Kelley, under the thrall of Hofstadter and Metzger, titled his chapter on Hadley's reign "Revival" (in contrast to his chapter on Porter, which was titled "Stagnation").

[55] Pierson, *Yale Book of Numbers*, 548. A measure of the impact of including the alumni is the fact that the university's permanent funds jumped from $181,700 in 1875 (four years into the Porter era), to $484,594 in 1885 (at the beginning of the younger Dwight's regime), to $1.8 million (at the beginning of the Hadley regime).

[56] Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1918). Veblen graduated from Carleton College in Minnesota in 1877, began his graduate studies at Johns Hopkins (presided over by Daniel Coit Gilman, whom Porter had driven into exile), then transferred to Yale to study under Porter. Whether he left Hopkins by necessity or preference is not known, but his choice of an institution nationally prominent for its opposition to the emergent plutocratic university model and his decision to study under Porter rather than William Graham Sumner is suggestive. I have not been able to locate any primary material on Veblen's activities at Yale or the content of his interactions with Porter.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin no. 4. (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910). See also Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1989).

[61] On this, see Steven Wheatley, *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education* (Madison: Univ. of Wis. Press, 1988).

[62] On corporate social responsibility in the progressive era, see Morrill Heald, *The Social Responsibilities of Business: Corporation and Community, 1900-1960* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve Univ. Press, 1969) and Peter Dobkin Hall, "Business Giving and Social Investment in the United States," in *Philanthropic Giving: Studies in Varieties and Goals*, ed. Richard Magat (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 221-44. David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977) and Guy Alchon, *The Invisible Hand of Planning: Capitalism, Social Science, and the State in the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985) provide the most detailed accounts of the alliances between progressive intellectuals and business.

[63] Veblen, *Higher Learning in America*, 46.

[64] Ibid., 47.

[65] Ibid., 48.

[66] Ibid., 52.

[67] Ibid., 54-5.

[68] Ibid., 58.

[69] Ibid., 59.

[70] Ibid., 59-60.

[71] Ibid., 61.

[72] Ibid., 61.

[73] Quoted in Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976), 216.

[74] Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Mass. Historical Society, 1918), 305-06.

[75] Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), xiv.

[76] On business leadership in education, see Edward Chase Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1956) and Earl J. McGrath, "The Control of Higher Education in America." *Educational Record* 17 (April 1936).

[77] These figures on participation in Yale fund drives are based on an in-house study I conducted in 1973, commissioned by the Campaign for Yale—the unsuccessful capital campaign that closed Kingman Brewster's regime. Yale's archives contain complete records on donors since the mid-eighteenth century. On the 1926-1928 campaign, see *The Yale Roll Call* (New Haven: Yale Univ., 1928), which contains a remarkably complete breakdown of donors by class, state, city, and size of donation. I used these categories to do retrospective analyses of the 1870, 1854, and 1832 drives.

[78] Besides Veblen, the critical literature on business control of eleemosynary governing boards includes: Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes* (New York: The Modern Library, 1910); Scott Nearing, "Who's Who among College Trustees." *School and Society* 6 (8 September 1916): 297-9; Upton Sinclair, *The Goose-Step: A Study of American Education* (Pasadena: Published by the Author, 1923); Harold J. Laski, *The Dangers of Obedience and Other Essays* (New York: Harper Collins, 1930); William H. Allen, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol* (New York: Institute for Public Service, 1930); Eduard Lindeman, *Wealth and Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936); Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's 60 Families* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1937); Horace Coon, *Money to Burn: What the Great American Philanthropic Foundations do With Their Money* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938); Gustavus Myers, *The Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1939). Also particularly worthy of note is the testimony given before the Walsh Commission (Commission on Industrial Relations), which conducted the first congressional investigation of the relationships between wealth and charitable enterprise. The Commission gave particular attention to the influence of large donors and wealthy board members—significantly paralleling the contemporary congressional investigations of the "Money Trust" which led to the passage of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and the creation of the Federal Reserve Board.

[79] Charles W. Eliot, "The New Education," *Atlantic Monthly* XXIII (February and March 1869), 203.

[80] Ibid., 203.

[81] Charles W. Eliot, "Inaugural Address as President of Harvard College, October 19, 1869," in Charles W. Eliot, *Educational Reform—Essays and Addresses* (New York: The Century Company, 1905), 12.

[82] Ibid., 12.

[83] Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York: MacMillan & Company, 1909), 439. This volume is generally considered to be the definitive ideological statement of the Progressive Movement and Croly himself epitomized many of the central biographical themes of the culture of progressivism. Matriculating at Harvard in 1886, he experienced Eliot's educational vision in full flower and, as both his ideas and his career suggest, absorbed its essence. After serving as editor of the *Architectural Record*, a trade journal noted for its advocacy of city planning and other causes that would become central to the progressive agenda, he became a political journalist. With backing from Morgan partner Willard Straight, he established the *New Republic*, the movement's most influential political periodical, in 1914. Like his mentor, Charles W. Eliot, Croly actively sought alliances with "progressive" businessmen. His 1912 biography of Marcus Alonzo Hanna, the national Republican leader credited by some to be the inventor of modern political life, eulogized the possibilities of alliances between big business and social reform. The best biography of Croly is David W. Levy's *Herbert Croly of the New Republic: The Life and Thought of an American Progressive* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985).

Californians and Public Higher Education: Political Culture, Educational Opportunity and State Policymaking[1]

JOHN AUBREY DOUGLASS

Throughout this century, states have engaged in a stimulating and often divisive debate over how to expand access to higher education. State governments created new public colleges and universities at a dizzying pace, funding enrollment expansion to fit their perceived economic and social needs, and launching a truly dramatic experiment in social-engineering. The result was a transformation in the scope and purpose of American higher education. Most states, however, also struggled to coordinate their respective networks of public institutions. The creation of a multitude of public and private institutions tended to swell from the entrepreneurial efforts of local community leaders, philanthropists, and religious congregations, many of whom sought public financial support from state government. Issues of governance, autonomy, funding, and accountability gained greater relevance in local and statewide politics only as the importance of a higher education in American society increased, the number of public institutions grew, and the cost to taxpayers escalated.

Policymaking in California reflected this trend. But it also differed significantly in its early development of a coherent organizational structure of public higher education institutions. While the era of mass higher education is generally associated with the post-World War II era and the GI Bill, at the turn of the century Californians were articulating the idea that higher education should not be a privilege, but a right.[2] California Progressives created and funded a tiered and geographically dispersed network of public colleges and a multi-campus state university, stating a social-contract that promised broad access to a public higher education for future generations. The results were significant: by 1920, California had the largest public higher education enrollment in the nation though it ranked only tenth in total population; and throughout most of this century, California has led all other states in the number of high school graduates going on to a postsecondary institution.

Today, California's structure of public college and universities, though modified, remains largely intact: a tripartite system consisting of a multi-campus land-grant university, a set of regional state universities, and state and locally funded community colleges, each sector having its own governing board. In contrast, and particularly in the post-World War II era, most state systems of higher education have undergone a number of reorganizations, most often in the direction of significant increases in the authority of state legislatures and regulatory agencies, and including the centralization of often quite different institutions under a single governing board.

The following essay provides an analysis of how and why California developed its network of public colleges and universities by analyzing four major periods of

policymaking: the first extending from statehood in 1850 to the turn of the century, the second covering the major reforms of California progressives, the third relating to the Great Depression and the rise of a regional college movement, and the fourth focused on the post-World War II effort to meet growing enrollment demand and the negotiation of the 1960 California Master Plan for Higher Education.

The advent of state systems of public higher education in the United States has remained largely unexplored by historians. Instead, scholarship has focused on the general development of the college and the research university, or on individual institutions, ignoring the intricacies and influence of regional and state politics. Yet the context of policymaking—the interplay between the academy and state and local government, and ultimately the taxpayer—is historically one of the most important influences on the organization, funding, and mission of American higher education.[3]

Two factors help to explain California's pioneering effort to expand higher education opportunity. The first relates to an evolving political culture that placed a high value on public higher education. In the early years of California statehood, as in other states, a public university was viewed as an avenue for social and economic mobility, and as a source of training and research for agriculture and mining industries. But in California, it was also seen as an institution that could provide social and economic stability within a state created by Argonuats and fortune seekers. California's rapid population growth, combined with the dearth of private colleges and preparatory institutions, and a strong anti-sectarian sentiment, placed the burden on state government to create institutions of higher education. A public university in particular, it was hoped, would induce civility and culture, and attest to California's aspirations as a new experiment in American democracy—despite its frontier roots and geographic isolation from the perceived cultural Mecca of the eastern seaboard. In California, pride mixed with status anxiety creating a strong desire for a public university and a concerted effort to expand educational opportunity.

By the early part of the twentieth century, higher education acquired added relevance for Californians. Postsecondary training was viewed as a key component in the political reform movement of Progressives, and a vital component for regional economic development that required the expansion of higher education beyond the monolith of a single state university. Local business and community leaders increasingly realized that state and locally funded institutions created labor pools, attracted businesses, bolstered employment, and generated prestige for communities. As a result, a new campus became a political prize for lawmakers. This shift in perception, along with dramatic population growth, created new market fores for expanding education beyond the high school.

The second factor that helps explain the development of California's particular system of higher education relates to the significant role of the University of California faculty and officials in shaping policy. California Progressives translated higher education into a public good—a good which needed to be allocated in a rational, cost-effective, and egalitarian way. University leaders such as Benjamin Ide Wheeler and

Alex Lange provided a vision of how this might be accomplished, while protecting the interests of the University of California. They argued for the establishment of the nation's first network of public junior colleges and an expansion in the number of state normal schools. Each would serve the growing appetite of Californians for access to postsecondary training. Each would also deflect demand from the University of California, and allow Wheeler and his successors to pursue the relatively new model of the American research university: a selective institution, focused on advanced training, research and public service. In no small part, the tripartite structure that emerged was built not only to serve the Progressives' Taylorite vision of specialized institutions, but to complement the aspirations of the University of California.

In succeeding years, the University of California provided an important conservative force for maintaining the tripartite structure, strengthened politically by its unusual status as a public trust under the state constitution. The desire of university officials to limit the competition for public support and funds, however, provided fodder for a bitter debate. Within the higher education community, and among lawmakers, different visions of the future of California's higher education system emerged. Some thirty years later California's 1960 Master Plan provided a resolution to this debate, marking the last major period of policymaking.[4]

I. AN ERA OF INSTITUTION BUILDING: CREATING A STATE UNIVERSITY

California provided for the chartering of a state university in its 1849 constitution, promising to "encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, moral and agricultural improvement."[5] But not until the passage of the 1862 Morrill Act did the legislature and California's first Whig-Republican governor, Leland Stanford, seriously consider an act to establish what would become the University of California. The enthusiasm of the 1849 constitutional convention gave way to a weak and corrupt legislature dominated by Democrats during the first decade of statehood. In the Jacksonian tradition, California Democrats advocated a limited role for state government, leaving initiative with the yeoman farmer and shying away from centralized power, corporate or public.

In contrast, a growing contingent of Whig-Republicans believed in the role of entrepreneurs and risk-takers. They were convinced that an alliance of business and government was necessary to shape the national culture and economy. In California, the advocates for establishing and funding common schools and a state university—such as State Superintendent John Swett, Governor Leland Stanford, and his successor, unionist Frederick Low—were of this persuasion and would form the core support for the future University of California. Public forms of education would, they argued, promote prosperity and civility despite the clamor of fortune seekers and transients.

The establishment of the nation's first public schools in colonial America represented a similar effort to create a stable society, and to thwart the perceived threat of anarchy and barbarism. Now this same motivation took a new form in frontier

California.[6] "There is a very great importance to California," wrote one booster, "in the establishment of a University, in the sense of stability and settlement it will produce and the greater permanence it will give to her population." While a state university "invites emigration [sic], it also fixes and retains the families that arrive."[7]

Yet the impetus for creating the University of California came not from activists in California, but from their counterparts in Washington. The passage of the Morrill Act during an era of radical Republican control of Congress offered federal land scrip for existing or new institutions of higher education. The Act provided each state with 30,000 acres of public land located largely in the West for each representative in Congress. California gained 150,000 acres, all in the state, that could be sold or leased. Income was to be used as an endowment for support of an institution of higher education that would include agricultural and mechanical arts programs. At first, the exigencies of the Civil War kept most states, including California, from taking the appropriate legislative action required to secure the federal grant. Just in time to meet the deadline, California, in March of 1866, passed the first of two "Organic Acts," calling for the creation of a polytechnic to serve primarily agricultural and industrial interests.

Two years later, however, Henry Durant convinced Governor Frederick Low that California should expand the purpose of the proposed land-grant institution into a university that would serve both applied and cultural needs of a young and isolated state. Part of a large contingent of Yale men who came to California during the Gold Rush, Durant had helped to establish in 1852 the small and financially struggling College of California in Oakland as a Congregational institution. Along with other co-founders of the college, he hoped that they might create a university modeled on Yale, focused on a classical curriculum but including the new scientific knowledge. Durant now offered the college and all its holdings to the state to help create a secular University of California. By combining private and public resources, he argued, California could create "something more than a polytechnic."[8]

In 1868, the legislature passed the second Organic Act by which the state accepted the land from the College of California and absorbed its liberal-arts faculty. The Act also created a Board of Regents with responsibility to manage the fiscal affairs of the university. This included managing the 200,000 acres of federal script allocated to California primarily under the 1853 Oregon Plan and the Morrill Act. The legislature then passed an act requiring that $200,000 "out of the first moneys paid" in the sale of state-owned salt and tide lands be placed in the newly created "University Fund." They also allocated some $44,000 out of the California School Fund—money derived from the sale of yet another federal land grant for schools and "seminaries of learning."[9] Beyond these initial allocations for operating expenses and capital costs, legislators naively hoped that the federal scrip would create a large enough endowment and subsequent income that the state might never need to allocate additional funds to the university.

The exuberance of California lawmakers and the Regents over the federal windfall led to an assumption that tuition (the payment of fees for instruction) would not play a part in financing the university. Open access to higher education based on merit, not economic class, appealed to Californians as a commitment to democracy befitting a progressive society.

While noble in intention, the decree of no-tuition and the abdication of legislative responsibility for funding ensured significant financial problems for the new university. Convincing lawmakers to provide a steady flow of state funding was elusive for several university presidents, including Henry Durant and his successors, Daniel Coit Gilman and John LeConte. University officials did succeed, however, in gaining a significant new level of autonomy during one of California's most turbulent political eras—a decade characterized by political corruption, economic depression, race riots, and business monopolies.

By the mid-1870s, populist movements in rural and urban California targeted the state university as a pawn of San Francisco capitalists, the same interests that victimized the yeoman farmer, controlled railroad rates, and imported Chinese labor. The university, its growing number of critics charged, sought to train gentlemen and lawyers, not the farmers and laborers intended by the Morrill Act and the 1868 state charter. In his San Francisco tabloid, Henry George stated that the Regents were not only mismanaging the federal land-grant, but involved in corrupt schemes to sell university property for personal profit. To return the university to its intended purpose, California's powerful State Grange proposed that the membership of the Regents be altered to include more representatives from agriculture and labor. They also demanded that all land-grant proceeds be restricted to funding programs in agriculture and mechanical arts.[10]

At the opening of California's second constitutional convention in 1879, it appeared that the Grange proposal would be placed in the new constitution, including the stipulation that the Regents be elected. Yet the fortunes of the university took an unexpected turn. Lobbying by university supporters at the convention, including several Regents, focused on the rampant corruption within the legislature. How, they asked, could one trust the legislature to manage the affairs of the university? Delegate and Berkeley graduate Jacob Freud argued vehemently against the proposal: "It sets the university adrift upon the boisterous sea of politics, sure to wreck to pieces on the rocks of partisan life and party contention."[11] Autonomy as a public trust, argued Freud and Regent Joseph Winans, would shelter the university from corrupt California politics. One only needed to look at the "magical effect" that a similar level of autonomy had on the subsequent development of the University of Michigan, announced Winans. Michigan, he proclaimed, had become "the noblest college existing on the continent."[12] Winans' argument, and his adept political maneuvering within the convention, resulted in a last-minute amendment giving the university the status of a public trust.

The approval of the 1879 state constitution by a narrow vote of Californians gave the regents exclusive power to operate, control, and administer the university with little direct purview by the legislature. In the long-term, this new status, shared by only a handful of other public universities, would prove tremendously important in shaping the future development of California's evolving higher education system.

In the short-term, however, becoming a public trust had little impact on the university's most pressing problem: gaining a steady source of funding. The university's new status also further distanced the institution from the other segments of California's public education system. The development of common school and the high schools, a set of normal schools, and the University of California occurred independently, reflecting the different spheres of policymaking that have traditionally divided public education. By the turn of the century, however, significant social and economic changes would force California to take a more holistic look at educational policymaking.

II. AN ERA OF REFORM: CALIFORNIA PROGRESSIVES AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The reforms of the Progressive era, between 1900 and approximately 1920, define the second era of policymaking, creating a tripartite structure and a vision of broad access that could be served through specialized public institutions. In 1899, Benjamin Ide Wheeler agreed to become the University of California's eighth president. Cognizant of the budgetary problems faced by the university, Wheeler brought a new age of leadership to the university. Since its founding thirty-one years earlier, the development of the Berkeley campus had, as one observer reflected, "proceeded under many handicaps." Support from the legislature had been minimal and often "not cordial." Internal conflicts among faculty and among Regents had been common.[13] University presidents found the Regents unwilling to delegate powers in areas such as faculty hiring. One Eastern paper derisively described the University of California as "a weak institution with plenty of land, a college of broken-down buildings, [and] beggarly endowments."[14]

Wheeler came to California from Cornell where he had been an activist in both local and statewide politics, gaining the admiration of both the academic world and political worlds of New York and Washington. He included among his good friends not only Cornell's founding president, Andrew White, but Grover Cleveland and ardent progressive Theodore Roosevelt. Like so many of the nation's academic leaders, Wheeler was of Yankee stock. Born in Randolph, Massachusetts in 1854, Wheeler attended Brown University before gaining his Ph.D. in classical philology from the University of Heidelberg. Teaching positions at Brown and Harvard followed before he ventured to Cornell in 1886.

On recruiting the forty-six-year-old Wheeler, the Board of Regents wanted to gain a vibrant leader similar to President David Starr Jordan at Stanford University. Jordan had quickly built Stanford into a significant research university and a rival to the Berkeley campus. Opening in 1891, Stanford also provided for the Regents a symbol of a fortune lost: Leland Stanford had indicated his interest in the 1880s to bequeath a large portion of his estate to the University of California. But the constant fighting among Regents, along with Stanford's abrupt removal as a Regent following the election of a new Democratic governor in 1886, caused him to think otherwise. Instead, he and his wife, Jane Stanford, established the campus in Palo Alto in memory of their son, and picked Jordan to lead the new university.[15]

While Stanford University emerged as an important contributor to California's economic and cultural life, under Wheeler's aggressive leadership the University of California became the most politically powerful higher education institution in the state. Even Jordan, mindful of the rivalry among students, expressed the notion that the public state university was perhaps California's most important and noble experiment. In 1900, enrollment in public institutions, including the Berkeley campus and several state normal schools, already exceeded California's private institutions by nearly 2 to 1. In Jordan's view, public higher education, and the state university in particular, was the "coming glory of democracy," the "most wonderful thing in educational development since Alfred found Oxford and Charlemagne Paris."[16]

Wheeler's success at Berkeley can be measured, in part, by the growth of the University of California in students, faculty and academic programs. By his retirement in 1919, the university of California had the largest enrollment of any postsecondary institution in the nation having grown from 2,533 students in 1899 to 12,227; and the number of faculty had more than trebled in that same twenty-year period, expanding from 202 to 693.[17] He also established research and scholarship as the primary factors for faculty recruitment and promotion. Wheeler helped to create some twenty new academic departments, several new colleges and gained state funding for establishing agricultural research stations and teaching programs in Davis, Riverside, and San Diego. And though it brought bitter opposition among the Regents and the faculty and alumni of the Berkeley campus, Wheeler reticently presided over the university's absorption of the Los Angeles State Normal School. Political leaders in Southern California demanded that the university provide an undergraduate program in Los Angeles, or else they would seek to establish a new and rival public institution in the city. The geographic expansion of the university set a precedent, creating the notion of a multi-campus state university, and eventually leading to a demand by other communities for a university campus.

The University and Social and Economic Reform

Wheeler's ambitions for the state university found strong public support because it related to two major forces in California society. The first was a general ethos that California, perched on the rim of the Pacific and looking to the great markets of Asia, had a destiny of greatness. Before the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, Wheeler, in 1910, reiterated the lexicon and spirit of an era: "The men of the East looked toward the Atlantic and old Europe; the Central West was settled by men who backed in, keeping their faces still set toward Europe. It was only when they crossed the Missouri that men really set their faces westward; and only when they reached the coast that they recognized their land as facing straight out upon the ultimate forum of the world's doings." Overlooking the Pacific, with a view of the ocean beyond the Golden Gate, Wheeler chimed that the Berkeley campus "is set where it can see, and therefore it can teach."[18]

The second influence on California's high level of education boosterism was the state's political reform movement. For California Progressives, a contingent of largely

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politically influential and often college-educated businessmen and professionals, the immediate concern was the destruction of the political stranglehold of the Southern Pacific Railroad. This powerful railroad monopoly, what Frank Norris derisively called "The Octopus," controlled not only transportation routes, but also vast stretches of California land and capital. No other state suffered under the yoke of a single corporation with such economic and political power. Self-proclaimed reformers, representing a growing middle and upper middle-class, attempted to overthrow California's rampant political corruption and disorganization and replace it with institutions and a public morality that would reinvent the state and "Americanize" the influx of immigrants. The establishment of direct elections, the initiative and the recall, and civil service reform, were all part of the elixir intended to wrest power away from the Southern Pacific, empower the average Californian, and install a more ordered and progressive society. Expanding higher education opportunity, argued Progressives, including Governor Hiram Johnson, and University Regents Francis Neylan and Edward Dickson—all alumni of California's land-grant university—was the long-term investment that would give such reforms meaning. It would provide a cadre of trained workers and professionals, and a source of research that would build a more learned, competent, and productive society capable of wisely using these new democratic powers.

The faith of California Progressives in higher education manifested itself in the first real consideration of how the state might create a logical network of colleges and universities to complement the state's rapidly expanding school system. But the path to the discussion was in no small part shaped by the financial and enrollment problems faced by the university.

Upon his arrival in 1899, Wheeler found that his immediate task was to place the university on a sound financial footing. Coming from the relative wealth of Cornell, Wheeler complained that inadequate buildings and facilities along with increasing enrollment demand meant that "we are crowded out of house and home." Writing to the governor, Wheeler explained that there were four-hundred additional students over the previous year's enrollment. The new president was appalled at the large classes and workload of faculty. "The situation here at present is, I sometimes think, pathetic, and sometimes ludicrous," he wrote. "There is nothing comparable to it in the United States today. The students have come down like an avalanche. We have no elasticity in our budget by which to provide for them. We are doing our best, but it is only by a miracle that the multitude can be fed with the seven loaves."[19]

Wheeler's first success came in courting California's rising class of wealthy San Franciscans who shared the desire of Wheeler and other Progressives to create a great public university. Financial gifts from Phoebe Hearst, the first woman Regent in the university's history, Jane Sather, Charles Franklin Doe, and others, constructed new buildings, created endowed chairs and scholarships, and, more importantly, created a culture of philanthropy for the university.[20] Because of Wheeler's ability to enlist benefactors and the rise of Stanford University funded by Leland Stanford's fortune,

the editor of the *Harper's Weekly* noted that, "the multi-millionaires of California have attested their interest in education on a scale which has excited the wonder of mankind."[21] Yet Wheeler knew that philanthropy could not provide the sustained funding needed for most operational costs, including faculty salaries. For the level of investment he required to build a research university Wheeler turned to California's taxpayers.

Since the late 1880s, the university had received a small flow of state funds based on a statewide tax of one cent per $100 of taxable property—the so-called mill tax, a common form of state support for higher education at the time.[22] Wheeler and the university's first comptroller, Ralph P. Merritt, successfully argued before the state legislature for several incremental increases to the statewide tax. But this income, based on fluctuating property values, could not sustain Wheeler's ambitious expansion program. For only the second time in the university's history, the Regents and Wheeler seriously considered imposing tuition, but rejected it as antithetical to the strong political support in California for maintaining a "free" system of public education.

Salvation for Wheeler came following a sweeping tax reform bill offered by California lawmakers during the historic 1911 legislative session, which eliminated the state property tax. The university's source of state funding suddenly vanished. Wheeler and Merritt used the occasion to successfully propose the adoption of an enrollment driven budget. Based on a crude assessment of future enrollment growth, the state henceforth would provide additional funding out of its general fund and a projection of future workload. Wheeler also gained the first direct and annual allocation for research by a state legislature.[23]

Enrollment-based funding reflected similar reforms in school budgeting intended to help expand educational opportunity, and brought a surge of state monies to the University of California. In 1890, the total operating budget was $193,000, with only 35 percent from state coffers; by 1920, the university's budget had grown to over $4.5 million, with over 60 percent from the state. Ten years later, the operating budget would reach $10.6 million with a record 75 percent coming from the state—a peak that would not be replicated in this century, in part because of the influx of federal research funding and income from other sources. The funding mechanism agreed to in 1911 created new incentives for the University of California to expand enrollment as a means to support new academic programs and research areas.[24]

Creating the Public Junior College

Enrollment-based budgeting resolved one of the most vexing problems for the University of California, providing a steady flow of funding that would wane only under the pressures of severe swings in the state's economy. But even with this seeming guarantee of workload-related funding, university officials realized that enrollment demand among California's burgeoning population posed problems for the university. Encouraged by a rapidly rising standard of living, a significant increase in the number of public high schools, and the demand for skilled technicians and professionals in the

state's growing economy, increasing numbers of high school graduates sought to enter the state university. California's growing middle-class families, particularly in the new communities in and around San Francisco and Los Angeles, wanted access to the university.

Initially, Wheeler welcomed the expanding public interest in a university education. It built political support and helped justify the university's role as the state's sole provider of public higher education beyond teacher training. But it was soon apparent to Wheeler that the flood of applications and the demand for greater access might destroy the university's greatest ambition to grow in graduate training and to expand research activities, particularly in areas that would benefit the state's economy. In the face of growing enrollment demand, Wheeler and the University's faculty wanted to raise undergraduate admissions standards and become more selective.

Responding to political pressure, most land-grant institutions maintained relatively low admissions standards, essentially serving all who would come. The result was high attrition rates and a general downward pressure on academic quality. Alexis F. Lange, Dean of the College of Letters, a professor of pedagogy and, as a result of this position, a member of the California State Board of Education, proposed a plan to avoid this perceived malady. As an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, Lange had participated in a short-lived experiment to create a distinct lower and upper division program, with graduation from the lower division "college" a prerequisite for admissions to advanced university training. The University of California, he argued and with the support of Wheeler, should establish a similar division in its curriculum and eventually drop all lower-division collegiate courses. The first two years of the university program, explained Lange, "represents continued secondary school training and the traditional dividing line between high school and college [has] all the marks of an accident of history, an accident unavoidable but not remediless." Reorganization of the university's curriculum and the establishment of the nation's first network of public junior colleges, he claimed, was the next logical step in the evolution of California's higher education system.

Influenced by William Rainey Harper's establishment of "post-graduation" courses at Joliet High School in the Chicago area, and David Starr Jordan's efforts to create a Stanford operated junior college, Lange argued before the California State Board of Education and in numerous public speeches that the junior college had a special applicability in California. The state had a highly dispersed population within its vast territory. The barriers to access to postsecondary education in California were twofold, noted Lange: the proximity of the student to the appropriate academic programs, and the overall costs to students and their families. The "absence of small colleges which dot the landscape of other states," he explained, required the creation of public institutions in California, perhaps simply an extension of the high school, to expand educational opportunity. Unlike Harper, Jordan, and others who argued that the junior college should serve essentially as a feeder of transfer students to institutions such as the University of Chicago and Stanford, Lange articulated a wider role for the junior

college. He envisioned a network of local public colleges that would include a terminal two-year liberal arts degree and vocational courses for "the mass of high school graduates who cannot, will not, [and] should not become university students."[25]

At the same time, Lange believed that the creation of a public system of junior colleges would provide significant benefits for California's state university. The local colleges would remedy the "swollen fortune of freshmen and sophomores." It would also allow for the eventual distribution of all "lower division" college programs into both the state's five normal schools and into the new junior colleges. The worthy student could then "transfer" to the university in the junior year, insuring access to high learning and training in the professions.[26] To assure the quality of the junior college programs and well-prepared students for university admission, Lange argued that university faculty should accredit the state's junior colleges and develop formal articulation agreements. He also proposed the granting of a "junior certificate" (the predecessor to the Associate of Arts degree).[27]

All the major elements of Lange's proposal would become a reality in California. In 1907, a bill allowed local school districts to organize junior colleges and established accreditation by state university faculty.[28] Later legislation provided significant state funding for creating and expanding junior college programs. Local communities, working with university faculty, responded in surprising numbers. The first junior college began operation in Fresno in 1910, followed by programs in Santa Barbara, Bakersfield, and San Diego. Some were extensions of local high school programs, others a separate college within a state normal school. By 1920, California had twenty-one junior colleges—more than half the total number of junior colleges in the United States at that time.[29] Fifty-five years later, California would continue to have more public junior colleges than any other state: in 1975, the state boasted 73, New York had 50 (both public and private), and Texas had 37 (30 public and 7 private).

The Progressive Era brought one other important reform to California's emerging system of public higher education. Legislation in 1920, co-drafted by Stanford education professor Ellwood P. Cubberley, reorganized the state's set of eight normal schools under a single authority, the California State Board of Education. Between 1857 and the late 1890s, only three state normal schools had been established, each charged with the training of elementary school teachers: the first in San Francisco (before moving to San Jose), the other two in Los Angeles and Chico. Between 1897 and 1920, five others had been founded along with a state polytechnic in San Luis Obispo for the preparation of teachers in practical fields. Much like their counterparts in other states, each school had been governed by its own public board, with membership drawn from the local community.

The 1920 bill not only centralized their governance under the State Board of Education, but extended most programs to a four-year degree. The normal schools were renamed "State Teachers Colleges" and allowed to expand their curriculum into liberal arts fields. For the first time, legislators discussed the idea of these colleges becoming four-year liberal arts colleges. In subsequent years, fewer and fewer students who entered the State Teachers Colleges went on to become teachers.

The Progressive Era provided the formative period in California's contemporary tripartite system of public education, based on the idea that distinct institutions could both serve and foster an expanding demand for access to higher education. This structured approach to creating a mass system of higher education was unusual at the time. While most states developed horizontal organizational structures, often with few or no formal ties between institutions, California's system was vertical in structure, linked by articulation agreements and accreditation coordinated by the state university. Conceptually, students could move from one institution to another. At the same time, public institutions could focus on specific needs of the state in the area of training and research. While this differentiation of functions placed what were often viewed as unfair constrictions on institutions, it also offered a dynamic method to expand enrollment as California's population rapidly grew.

III. AN ERA OF CONFLICT: THE DEPRESSION AND THE REGIONAL COLLEGE MOVEMENT

California entered the 1920s with a general consensus on the role of its system of higher education. Enrollments rapidly expanded, bolstered by not only the invention of the public junior colleges, but also the dramatic enrollment increases at the University of California and the expanding state teachers colleges. By 1930, enrollment in public higher education had tripled. Approximately 20 percent of California's college-age population now matriculated to an institution of higher education, more than double the national average. Expansion had also progressed with relatively little conflict over the individual roles of each member of the public tripartite system.

The junior colleges were to provide liberal arts, vocational, and adult education courses. University of California faculty, who accredited the junior college as a prerequisite for state funding, recognized that the junior college was more than a source of transfer students for Berkeley and Los Angeles: "The junior college will function adequately only if its first concern," noted a University of California publication, "is with those who will go no farther, it meets local needs efficiently, if it turns many away from the university into vocations for which training has hitherto been afforded by our school system."[9] The state teachers colleges, in the view of University officials and lawmakers, was to remain a specialized institution, focused on teacher education and constricted in enrollment.

The Great Depression, however, plunged California's higher education community into what would be a long and bitter debate. State government experienced a significant decline in revenues and proceeded to make massive cuts in public education funding. At the same time, a weak employment market for high school graduates increased the attractiveness of a college education. Budget cuts in the midst of rising enrollment demand broke the post-Progressive Era consensus over the role and structure of California public higher education.

In response to the economic down-turn and changing labor needs, many local lawmakers wanted to expand the state teachers colleges beyond teacher training, and

to create new four-year publicly funded colleges. New state funded campuses offered numerous benefits in Depression-era California: they would not only stimulate higher college-going rates within local communities and improve the quality of the local labor pool, but also provide much needed infusions of state funds. A college campus also offered prestige for growing and ambitious communities and a focal point for drawing new businesses and talent. The University of California had repeatedly ignored overtures by local officials for new campuses or programs, insisting that deserving students travel to either Berkeley or Los Angeles. It soon became evident to a growing number of lawmakers that their only hope for gaining a four-year college campus was to establish, by an act of the California Legislature, a state college. Beginning in 1930, lawmakers began a steady stream of bills, all opposed by University of California officials, intended to create new state colleges and expand their programs in fields useful for regional economies.

Sproul's Battle

Robert Gordon Sproul become the university's eleventh president in 1930. While he had little in the way of academic credentials beyond an undergraduate degree from Berkeley, he had been the university's comptroller and main political lobbyist since 1920. In no small part, Sproul's selection by the Regents was made to help the university mount a political battle against California's emerging regional college movement. The worries of the Regents and Sproul were multiple. Paramount was the concern that the state could not afford such a dramatic expansion of higher education beyond the vision articulated by California Progressives and university officials. It would result in "the certainty of mediocrity and the possibility of bankruptcy," explained Sproul.[11] Reflecting the sentiments of University of Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins and other university leaders, Sproul forcefully argued that mass higher education beyond the junior college was, in fact, not a necessity. "Fundamentally," Sproul proclaimed, "if the history of public education in this country means anything, there must be but one state university, and by this I mean not only one institution which is called the State University, but only one state-supported institution in the field of higher education—there must not be so-called colleges or universities at every crossroads or even at every county seat."[12] Further, he exclaimed, in no state which had split its loyalty, and money, to two four-year institutions "has there been general satisfaction with the result; the counsel of experts is positive and unanimous against dividing the effort of the state." Citing a study directed by Henry Pritchett during his presidency of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Sproul stated that where two competitive segments had been created, it was "demoralizing alike to the institutions themselves: Duplicate courses, low standards of admission, and log-rolling with the legislature are the natural outcome."[13]

Sproul garnered the forces of a politically influential university in an open attempt to stop the regional college movement. "Let us see that [the university] meets the cultural demands of all, or at any rate of all the important groups in the commonwealth,"

he told a meeting of alumni in 1931. "But let us not exchange it for a collection of little replicas, responding to purely local needs."[14] But much of the public, including the business communities outside of San Francisco and Los Angeles, thought differently. To be without a college, according to local boosters, was a form of economic discrimination. Since the university was not willing to expand geographically beyond offering agricultural courses at research facilities such as at Davis and Riverside, and since it could not be forced by the legislature to create new campuses because of its status as a public trust, many lawmakers become increasingly irritated with the university's seemingly blatant effort to control higher education access and programs. "An increasing number of citizens," stated an article in the *Sacramento Bee*, "strongly are convinced that the time has arrived to put a check on the omnivorous appetite of the Berkeley institution for more and more millions, as well as to curb its apparent determination to throttle any educational progress in the state outside of its own domineering influence."[15]

Frustrated with the variety of attacks being leveled at the university, Sproul searched for a method to defend the university and halt the growing number of bills in the legislature to create new state teachers colleges and expand their mission. In November 1930 and shortly after his appointment as president, Sproul met with Governor James Rolph and offered a proposal. He suggested the state pursue a study on coordinating California's education system, and that it be conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Such a study, he argued, would avoid the wrangling of California's internal politics, providing a hard look at the potential costs and difficulties of financing public higher education.[16]

Sproul was so confident that an independent review of California's postsecondary system would benefit the university that before his meeting with Rolph, he sent vice-president Monroe Deutsch to New York to discuss the proposed study with the new Carnegie Foundation president Henry Suzzallo. A native Californian and the former president of the University of Washington, Suzzallo was a highly respected expert on education. He also held an honorary degree from Berkeley.[17] Sproul saw in the Carnegie Foundation and Suzzallo a friendly ally, with the prestige and independence to confirm the university's position on regional college expansion.

At Rolph's urging in early 1931, the legislature subsequently passed a bill sanctioning the study. The state provided $25,000 for the governor "to engage the services of an educational research foundation of nation-wide scope [to] make a survey of the present system."[18] By October, 1931, Suzzallo and members of his staff held a series of conferences with representatives from the University of California, the state teachers colleges, the various junior college associations, the State Board, and State Superintendent for Public Instruction Vierling Kersey. They also met with legislators and concerned citizens.[19]

Sproul expressed high hopes for the "Suzzallo Report." It could provide a "calm study which alone is likely to lead to sound and purposeful planning." Sproul explained: "The legislative attack [has been] beaten off, chiefly by the reflective

judgment of those representing districts with no self-interest in the contest." He assured a group of alumni that the university would "not go before the Commission with selfish motives, with an eye single to the interests of the university, or with malice toward any other institution.... We are seeking honestly to interpret and intelligently serve the highest interests of education in the State of California."[40]

The Suzzallo Report provided California with the first attempt to assess the proper organization of California's post-Progressive Era system. But it also generated severe and broad political opposition. In June of 1932, the Report was delivered to the governor. "The present situation of education in California," it noted, "involves problems of policy and organization, particularly with relation to the operations of higher education." Such problems were not particular to California, but were more pronounced because of the "social aspirations and favorable economic conditions within the State [which] permitted certain experiments and developments not possible in equal measure in other commonwealths."[41]

According to the Suzzallo Report, three areas needed to be addressed to improve California's education system: a unification of control over all or major segments of the system, a more equitable distribution of the financial burden for operating the system, and a clear policy of articulation between secondary and postsecondary institutions. "The Commission is of the opinion," noted the 1932 report, "that much of the confusion in the educational situation...has arisen from a lack of necessary machinery to make effective the coordination of the several phases of higher education." The solution was a restructuring of California's education system.

Samuel P. Capen, a leading author of the Report, noted that the commission charged to complete the study had considered the advantages of creating a single board for all California higher education (including the junior colleges), but found that solution "impractical." The size and projected growth of the different segments of higher education made centralized control simply too complicated and cumbersome.[42] Efforts at unification of a state system, noted Capen, were usually ill-conceived, often resorting to "legal or coercive measures [to] bring about formal rather than genuine unity of effort."[43] In California, Capen insisted, the junior colleges should remain under the State Board. However, the Regents, he noted, should be given the job of governing the state teachers colleges. This would allow the State Board to focus on the public education system extending to the junior colleges, while granting the Regents the authority to manage what they termed the state's future "university system."[44]

Finally, the commission argued for the creation of a "State Council for Educational Planning and Coordination." The proposed council would be an agency for the coordination and planning of all aspects of the states public education system. Recognizing the status of the university as a public trust, Capen explained that the council would need to be an advisory body, essentially a forum for key members of the education community to discuss issues and form a consensus. The council would then provide guidance to the legislature and the governor regarding new programs and new campuses. No action should be taken by the legislature, argued Capen, without the review of the council.

The Suzzallo Report clearly favored the stand taken by Sproul and the Regents. If adopted by the legislature, the state teachers colleges would suddenly be placed under the control of university officials. The report also stated that the regional college movement in California was more the result of the ambitions of individual legislators than it was a rational need of the people of the state. Any future attempts to create new four-year institutions, it was explained, should consider the net effect on "the State school system as a whole," and not simply "the claims of certain localities or regions." The existing network of junior colleges, concluded the authors, offered ample opportunities for postsecondary education. Access beyond the sophomore level should be "open only to persons of unusual ability and interest." Those who complained about being denied access to the university simply did not meet the standards of admission. "State-provided facilities," concluded Capen, "for the fulfillment of [their] aspirations in reality end with the junior college.... The attempt to get the Legislature to establish such senior colleges apart from university management and under the control of separate boards, operating locally, is something to which the State ought never to consent."[45]

Political Realities and the Downfall of the Suzzallo Report

The Suzzallo Report represented California's most comprehensive review of the state's education system up to that time. Although many of its recommendations were logical, the Report failed to take into account the dynamics of California's political culture which increasingly equated access to a higher education as a right of citizenship. Consequently, it failed to gain the support of legislators and attracted the opposition of most of the California's educational community not associated with the university. State Superintendent Kersey and representatives within the state Department of Education and the State Board immediately criticized the Report.[46] Not only did it advocate a substantial reduction in the purview of the superintendent and the State Board, the Report also recommended the appointment of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (since 1850 a constitutionally elected officer), the election of the State Board of Education, and the eradication of tenure for elementary and secondary school teachers. To cut costs, the report suggested the closing of the Polytechnic Institute at San Luis Obispo which "might be properly utilized for junior college work." In the same spirit, the Report called for the closing of the State Nautical School located in Tiburon which had been established only four years earlier.[47]

Many within California's education community were angry at what they considered the blatant attempt of university officials to control state educational policy. The economic hardship of the 1930s, along with University of California opposition, helped to defeat legislation for a new college campus in Sacramento. But the Suzzallo Report helped to galvanize support for a significant change in the status and mission of the state teachers colleges. In 1935, despite the protests of Sproul and university officials, the California legislature successfully passed a bill redesignating California's teachers colleges as "State Colleges." More importantly, the bill, sponsored by some

sixteen legislators, sanctioned four-year liberal arts degrees in fields other than teacher education.[48] University of California officials consistently underestimated the desire of Californians to gain greater access to higher education.

The 1935 bill opened the door for a dramatic expansion in programs and enrollment within California's state colleges. In the brief period of five years, state college enrollment doubled. By the early 1950s, it surpassed the University of California, previously the largest university system in the nation. In light of the university's failure to halt the regional college movement, Stanford professor William M. Proctor noted that the search for "educational opportunities beyond the high school level is apparently a demand which will not be denied."[49] In no small part, University of California officials, like their counterparts in Wisconsin and other states, had not fully understood the populist demand for expanding educational opportunity, and the regional economic and political factors that drove policymaking.

A Plan for Unification

The 1935 state college bill was a devastating blow to Sproul and the University of California. Sproul sought a new strategy to constrain further expansion of the state colleges. But a politically viable strategy was elusive. Though the colleges were under the authority of the State Board of Education, and theoretically managed by the State Superintendent of Instruction, the strong regional orientation of the colleges created a fierce sense of independence among the college presidents and faculty. College presidents ran their campuses almost as fiefdoms, altering admissions policy from year to year to meet their expansion ambitions, creating new academic programs with little oversight from Sacramento, and sometimes without seeking the required approval of the State Board of Education. Lawmakers representing Sacramento, Los Angeles, Modesto, and other areas of the state also offered a number of bills to create new campuses. This process of *ad hoc* enrollment and program growth, Sproul feared, would eventually create a set of politically powerful state colleges which would demand funding and program parity with the university.

During the 1939 legislative session, a number of bills circulated in the state capitol that would establish new state college campuses including one which asked the Regents to convert Santa Barbara State College into a University of California campus. At first, Sproul noted his strong opposition to such a merger, and the bill wallowed in committee hearings. But several years later Sproul reversed his position. In the midst of the World War II, local Santa Barbara boosters, including newspaper publisher Thomas Storke, a close friend of Governor Earl Warren, worked with their local representatives in Sacramento to reintroduce the bill. A university campus along the Central Coast, they argued, would provide a more logical distribution of UC campuses throughout the state, with Berkeley to the north and Los Angeles to the south. Despite the opposition of the Regents, the legislation passed in 1943 and was soon signed by Governor Warren. As a public trust under the state constitution, the Regents could ignore such overtures; but Sproul now argued that rejecting Santa Barbara was an unwise political move and, in fact, offered an important opportunity.[50]

For six months, Sproul argued before a reluctant Board of Regents to accept Santa Barbara, but only as part of a larger plan to absorb, one by one, the campuses of the state college system.[51] Sproul and other university officials had contemplated a similar hostile take-over following the Suzzallo report, but rejected it. They feared the burden of managing two essentially different higher education systems: it threatened to erode the university's mission. The Regents might lose the vigilance necessary to restrict state college programs and protect the unique role of the university. But more importantly, it was assumed that the Regents would need to wrest the entire network of regional colleges at one time, in turn requiring a constitutional amendment. As the amendment moved through the legislature, an unanticipated change in its language might alter the university's unusual level of autonomy. In the viewpoint of university officials, the risks were simply too high.

In early 1944, the Regent's finally took Sproul's advice and accepted Santa Barbara as the third general undergraduate college of the university and committed to Sproul's unification plan. But the absorption of Santa Barbara further embittered state college supporters. The State Board of Education and the State Superintendent openly opposed the transfer, filing a lawsuit to prevent it, and arguing against any unification plan. While the lawsuit had no legal standing, in 1946 board members in association with California Teachers Association authored a successful constitutional amendment that prohibited any future transfer of a state college to the Regents. Sproul's plan was dead, and the rift within the higher education community deepened.[52]

IV. AN ERA OF PLANNING: POSTWAR CALIFORNIA AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The fourth era of policy development occurred in post-World War II California. For the first time, policymakers within academia and in the legislature engaged in a series of efforts to plan the future of the tripartite system. The war transformed California's economy and brought a new wave of migration. Agriculture, while still extremely important, was no longer the primary source of income for the state. Technology-based industries like electronics and aeronautics became the primary source of economic growth, fed first by wartime and then by Cold-War federal spending. Enrollment in California institutions had declined significantly during the war. But the postwar era promised a huge surge in the demand for higher education, in part fueled by the GI Bill and expectations of significant population growth.

As early as 1944, Governor Earl Warren placed particular importance on the postwar role of the state's public higher education system. Warren wanted to expand the state's public colleges and its land-grant university rapidly, not only because doing so would serve the training needs of California's new economy, but because it would also reduce the labor pool in the immediate postwar years. California faced a potentially severe postwar economic downturn that could lead to dormant factories and high unemployment. Expanding higher education became part of a larger postwar "Reconversion and Reemployment" program pursued by Warren and lawmakers. As part of his postwar

strategy, and with the largesse of a significant state budget surplus amassed during the war, Warren demanded that the state's higher education community develop a general plan for expanding and coordinating the tripartite system.

In response, Joseph Loeb, a member of the State Board of Education, university alumnus, and attorney from Los Angeles, led an effort in late 1945 to find common ground between the university and the state colleges. Loeb approached Sproul with a proposal to create a "Liaison Committee" with members from both the Board of Regents and the State Board of Education. The committee, argued Loeb, could formulate agreements over the future of California's tripartite system and reduce conflicts between the two boards. Several days later, Sproul held an informal meeting with several members of the State Board and the Regents at his house on the Berkeley campus to discuss Loeb's idea. Sproul then approached the Regents with a resolution to establish the Liaison Committee to "perfect a plan of coordination . . . which will provide a permanent basis for the economical and adequate development of all higher education." Sproul and Superintendent of Public Instruction Roy Simpson, as the head of the state college system, would become members of the Liaison Committee, along with several members of the Board of Regents and the State Board of Education.[53]

Two years later, with the support of Governor Warren, the Liaison Committee guided California's first comprehensive plan for the future development of the tripartite system. The 1948 "Strayer Report," named for George Strayer who chaired the three-member task force that created the plan, attempted to adjust the existing tripartite public system and set rules for its expansion, including a formal agreement on the appropriate "functions" of the junior colleges, state colleges, and the university. The report also provided enrollment projections, a plan for new campuses, and projections of state funding needs.

No state in the Union had thus far attempted to plan the future of its public higher education system. Previous efforts focused on surveys of existing programs and preferred modes of organization and governance. The most notable was the extensive survey of public and private education within the state of Illinois conducted by the University of Chicago in 1939—a study that detailed the academic programs and admissions practices of the state's numerous colleges and universities. The Strayer Report marked a clear departure from past state studies and represented California's first attempt at a master plan for its system of higher education.[54]

Influenced by the President's Commission on Higher Education report, *Higher Education for American Democracy*, and California's historic commitment to open access to the state's expanding network of junior colleges, the Strayer Report assumed that approximately 40 percent of all high school graduates should seek placement in California postsecondary institutions by 1960—up from a college-attendance rate of around 7 percent in the mid-1920s. Returning veterans, supported by the GI Bill, made a large but temporary bulge in both enrollment demand and federal funds for higher education. This enrollment bulge would recede, but the overall trend of expansion, the authors of the Strayer Report argued, would continue, as would a rising demand by

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higher education institutions for state resources. *Ad hoc* growth and entrepreneurial efforts of local political and business leaders to obtain new campuses, the authors argued, should be avoided in favor of a coordinated development of the tripartite system to expand access.

The authors of the Strayer Report also rejected a number of proposals to expand junior colleges into four-year institutions lest they lead to a proliferation of proposals for such transformations and, thus, to the destruction of the junior college system. Instead, they recommended further expansion of the University of California, including the establishment of liberal arts courses in Riverside, and state college programs, including offering the masters of arts degree, and adding new campuses in Sacramento, Los Angeles, and Long Beach.[15] Under the Strayer Report, California embarked on a large-scale expansion in the number of its public postsecondary institutions.

Renewed Conflict

The success of the Liaison Committee and the political support for the leadership of California's higher education community was short lived. Increasing enrollment demand and the ambitions of the state colleges once again exposed the deep divisions within the higher education community. With the staunch support of their local political leaders, state college presidents sought to expand their programs into graduate and professional training, including engineering. By 1953, lawmakers also began again to propose bills for new college campuses. President Sproul and the Regents stated their opposition to both program expansion and new campuses.

Commenting on a similar level of animosity between the University of Wisconsin and that state's teachers colleges, Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen noted in 1949 that "it was an open question whether the highest educational interests of the state were served" by the university's tenacious opposition to regional colleges. They wondered if, in hindsight, the state "might have been better served if, instead of fighting the advance of the normal schools, University officials had encouraged their growth, generously and wisely helped them toward respectability and usefulness."[16] Such a nurturing relationship was not to be found in Wisconsin, California, or most other states; a sense of competition pervaded, with land-grant universities being protective of their research and advanced training missions.

Another concern common among state governments was the significant rise in the cost of public higher education. In the 1930, public colleges and universities in California enrolled 68,150 students. By 1950, enrollment had increased to nearly 208,000. College-going rates for high school graduates had also increased from approximately 17 percent to nearly 30 percent over the same period.[17] The effort to expand access carried with it a high price tag both in terms of operating and capital expenditures, which in turn brought an increasing desire by lawmakers to regulate and coordinate California's three distinct segments of public higher education. College going rates in California were among the highest in the nation, and approximately 85 percent of all postsecondary were enrolled in public institutions in 1950. This high

dependency on public institutions, along with California's policy of no tuition, meant a corresponding and high dependence on state and local funding. Most states incorporated tuition (fees that could be used for the general operation of a campus, including paying faculty salaries) to help with the rising costs of expanding access. During the 1953 session of the California legislature, and with the state surplus dwindling, lawmakers asked for a more detailed understanding of the present and future costs of higher education.[58] Assemblyman Lloyd Bowers of Yolo County, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, wanted to know what the exact costs were for educating a student within both the public and private sectors. How could the legislature make budgetary decisions, asked Bowers, without understanding the differential in "unit costs" among the segments and institutions?[59]

Bowers' frustration was a result of a confusing budgetary process that made it virtually impossible to understand future costs of the three different segments of the tripartite system. For example, each of the eleven state college campuses submitted their own budget to the legislature after a cursory stamp of approval by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Department of Education. But more importantly, Bowers raised the specter that California's higher education system was growing with little oversight by elected officials, and without sufficient concern over duplication of programs and rising costs.[60] The demand of legislators for more detailed financial information and rumblings that the whole tripartite system appeared inefficient and in need of radical reform prompted President Sproul and Superintendent Simpson to proposed yet another planning study—a "Restudy" of the Strayer Report. Only in this way, they told anxious lawmakers, could the issues of costs and of improved coordination be effectively answered. They promised an extensive two-year study. Sproul hoped that it might result in a plan that would effectively limit the proliferation of state college programs, halt the rapid increases in enrollment, and stop the flow of new campus bills.[61]

The resulting Restudy Report headed by Thomas R. McConnell, former Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, was submitted to the legislature in time for the 1955 budget session. Conditioned by the fiscal problems of the state, the Restudy Report proposed that no new four-year campuses be established until 1965. The report also proposed that the state colleges have their own board, that they be allowed to expand programs at the master's level, and that by the mid-1960s they might be allowed to grant the Ph.D. degree in specific fields, such as education. McConnell's study also criticized the overly centralized structure of the university under President Sproul and advocated greater management authority at the university's various campuses, which now included not only Berkeley and Los Angeles, but also undergraduate programs at Santa Barbara, Davis, and Riverside. The university had created liberal arts programs at these campuses (at Santa Barbara in 1944, at Davis in 1951, and Riverside in 1954), but they where relegated to undergraduate instruction and specific research functions—primarily agriculture research.[62]

Neither the Regents nor the State Board of Education, for different reasons, would endorse the Report as a whole. Much like the Carnegie study some thirteen years

earlier, the Restudy Report proved a tactical disaster. Legislators were furious with the recommendation for no new campuses. Many had agreed to hold their bills for new campuses or for reorganizing the tripartite system under the pretext that the Report would develop a list of preferable sites, and a plan for governance. Legislators complained that the study was too partial to the interests of Sproul and the university, yet another plan to halt state college growth.[53]

Despite the concern over the growing disparity between state revenues and expenditures, most lawmakers rejected the Restudy Report. Another flood of bills for new campuses followed. Thanks to the effort of several key legislators, including State Senator George Miller (Contra Costa), however, most were defeated or died in committee. Miller argued that California was practicing pork-barrel policymaking in expanding higher education that would eventually drive the state into bankruptcy. Governor Edwin Knight, Warren's successor, vetoed the few bills that made it through the State Assembly and State Senate.

In the wake of the 1955 session, Sproul and Simpson, working through the Liaison Committee, quickly developed a list of preferable campus sites for both the university and the state colleges in an effort to reassert their role in policymaking. In the following legislative session in 1957, however, some twenty-three bills were offered for new campuses and programs, most of which did not appear on the Liaison Committee's list of potential campuses. In the end, four new campuses were approved by lawmakers: state colleges in Hayward, Northridge, Fullerton, and Stanislaus—the last two campus sites opposed by the Regents and the State Board of Education. The cavalcade of new campus proposals, bills for the reorganization of the tripartite system, and the spectacle of Sputnik in 1957, each created a sense among lawmakers that they needed to exert themselves more fully in education policymaking.[54]

Negotiating the 1960 Master Plan

Several events altered decisionmaking in higher education, providing the context for the successful negotiation of the 1960 Master Plan which effectively ended the rampant mode of *ad hoc* decision-making. The first was a change in the political leadership in Sacramento. In 1958, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown become governor, modeling himself after Earl Warren as a consensus-building "pragmatic liberal." With the help of Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, Brown pursued a tax reform program that eliminated the state's $268 million deficit. Combined with the substantial increase in federal funds provided by the National Defense Act of 1958, California was in a position to fund a regulated and thoughtful expansion of higher education.

Sympathetic toward the position of the University of California, the new governor was nevertheless open to the idea of restructuring California's tripartite system, including changes in its governance toward a more centralized model. Key legislators, such as George Miller, expressed increasing concern with "wasteful competition and duplication" within the tripartite system. Another legislator, Dorothy Donahoe, one of only two women in the California legislature and the new chair of the Assembly Education Committee,

observed that California might establish "fifteen or eighteen state-supported universities all competing for the tax dollar.... If the practice of adopting special legislation to meet specific problems is continued without a well-defined plan, education in California will 'grow like Topsy.'"[55] The State Department of Finance projected that enrollment demand would nearly triple by 1975. Both Miller and Donahoe suggested that it was perhaps time for California, like many other states, to impose a "superboard" to govern both the state colleges and the university and efficiently manage enrollment growth. In an era in which the legislature was asserting a more powerful role in policymaking in a variety of venues, Miller also suggested that this superboard should, perhaps, not have the level of autonomy enjoyed by the Regents.

The second major change in the context of policymaking was the appointment of Clark Kerr as the university's new president. Sproul retired after twenty-eight years as the president of the University of California. His power to persuade the Regents, particularly in the aftermath of the oath controversy that pitted the Regents against the faculty, his hard line against the state colleges, and his age, had all contributed to a sense among the university community that it was time for him to retire.

As a labor economist and skilled negotiator, Kerr succeeded Sproul at a pivotal time in the university's history. Kerr and his associates, including confidant and UCLA professor Dean McHenry, recognized that time was short. Without an adequate response to the concerns of Brown, Miller, and Donahoe, lawmakers would invent their own solutions. Kerr and McHenry also recognized that the political influence of the state colleges was growing quickly. As McHenry explained in a letter to Kerr, "the university has an estimated numerical superiority of alumni in the state, but this advantage will soon be gone if the state colleges continue to proliferate. If we are ever going to remold the higher education picture nearer our heart's desire," concluded McHenry, "we ought to strike soon."[56]

Kerr realized that shifting the *ad hoc* mode of policy development into a larger and comprehensive political process of developing a plan for higher education offered the university its best and perhaps last chance to influence legislators. As reasoned by Kerr, McHenry, and other university officials, the varied interests and aspirations of legislators and their local communities would be abrogated or compromised within a planning process oriented toward building an efficient system of higher education. Moreover, by broadening the policy discussion, the university would have allies: specifically, legislators and a governor concerned more with controlling costs than expanding state college functions, and members of the junior colleges and private institutions who sought a greater role in policy discussions.[57] There were also risks to moving into a negotiating process: the university might be overwhelmed by the demands of the state colleges and their supporters in Sacramento. The process might also break down, encouraging lawmakers to pursue radical reforms such as a superboard.

But these risks, Kerr determined, were acceptable in light of the predilection of many legislators toward major reform with possible dire consequences for the autonomy and mission of the university. In early 1959, with the support of Donald McLaughlin, chair

of the Regents, Kerr called for two joint meetings of the State Board and the Regents to discuss the future of California higher education. With key legislators attending, including Miller and Donahoe, the first meeting was held in the Alumni House on the Berkeley campus. It was a contentious affair. Kerr proposed that the two boards, under the auspices of the Liaison Committee, pursue a long-range plan for California higher education and that a moratorium be placed on all new campuses until its completion.

State Board members, including Raymond J. Daba, noted that any moratorium on new state college campuses was just another veiled attempt to thwart educational access and delay new campus construction. Superintendent Simpson supported Daba. Simpson had only reluctantly agreed to the joint meeting of the two boards, and had long resented the efforts of university officials to control the growth of the state colleges. "Public education," he stated, "is considered an inalienable right of California's citizenry." This was why, he noted, there were now some forty bills pending in the legislature related to higher education. To the great frustration of university officials, Simpson proceeded to offer a long list of possible new campus sites for immediate action by the legislature. Legislators openly observed that it was perhaps impossible to obtain direction from the two boards. Miller and others reiterated their conclusion that a superboard was the only solution, though Miller would eventually change his mind. The meeting ended without a vote on Kerr's resolution.[68]

Before the second joint meeting at UCLA, university lobbyist Jim Corley offered to Assemblywoman Donahoe a draft resolution for possible action by the legislature. Donahoe proceeded to sponsor Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR) 88, convinced by university officials that the higher education community should be given a chance to offer a solution. ACR 88 asked the Liaison Committee to, within six months, create a master plan for California's higher education system for consideration by the legislature at a special session. It also asked for a moratorium on legislation proposing new institutions or reorganizing the governance of higher education. With the support of Miller and Governor Brown, the legislature passed the resolution and asked the Regents and the State Board of Education to deliver a plan in nine months. Governor Brown flatly told Clark Kerr, Roy Simpson, and the two boards that they had better provide a solid plan. Failure to do so, explained Brown, or the presentation of a plan consisting of "mutual log-rolling by which each approves the projects of the other in order to have license for its own" would compel the state "to consider other structural possibilities."[69]

Under intense political pressure, the second meeting of the two boards proved more productive and, seemingly, harmonious. The Liaison Committee was given the task of coordinating the establishment of a "Master Plan Survey Team." In turn, the team would complete the plan for approval by the two boards and finally submit it to the legislature and governor. Arthur G. Coons, president of Occidental College, was asked to chair the Survey Team and act as arbitrator among the various interests. Among the eight members of the team, Dean McHenry served as the university's main representative and Glenn S. Dumke as the state college's representative. Dumke had taught at

Occidental, served as a dean under Coons before becoming the President of San Francisco State College. Immediately, discussion among the survey team was contentious, reflective of the deep and long-held divisions within the higher education community. Coons explained the need for two major objectives for the plan: "First, it must guard the state and state funds against unwarranted expansion and unhealthy competition among the segments of public higher education. Second, it must provide abundant collegiate opportunities for qualified young people and give the segments and institutions enough freedom to furnish the diverse higher educational services needed by the state."[70]

Nine months of arduous negotiations nearly collapsed at the eleventh hour. With only days left before the plan was to be submitted to the legislature, university and state college representative were deadlocked. McHenry, under the direction of Kerr, refused to capitulate to state college desires to grant the doctorate in select fields such as education, and to gain state financial support for faculty research. As a result, all other agreements made during the course of the negotiations, including new admissions guidelines and the creation of a new "Board of Trustees" for the state colleges, were held hostage. An extremely frustrated and exhausted Arthur Coons threatened to submit his own recommendations. Governor Brown threatened to create a superboard. "If they don't come up with something," protested the governor, "we will do it ourselves. We have to move ahead on this Master Plan." Assemblywoman Dorothy Donahoe complained that she was tired of the fight: "I keep hearing 'mine, mine, mine.' But what we need to hear is 'our state.'"[71] Senator Miller told a reporter, "we can no longer afford this competition, and in light of it, as in public utilities, we must establish a monopoly" under a single board.[72]

In a desperate last-minute meeting orchestrated by Clark Kerr the night before the recommendations of the Survey Team were due, Kerr, McHenry, Coons, Simpson, and Glenn Dumke reached a compromise in Kerr's office near the Berkeley campus. The state colleges, or what would eventually become the California State University (CSU), would gain its own board, wresting the colleges away from the State Board of Education and Superintendent Simpson. There was a promise of a level of autonomy similar to the university's that would be placed in the state constitution. The colleges would also be authorized to offer a "joint doctorate," under the direction and approval of University of California faculty. In turn, Kerr hoped that these compromises would fix the state college's role into the state constitution, and thereby protect the University of California's research and graduate instruction mission.[73]

While the Master Plan would delve into multiple issues related to the structure, function, and coordination of California's higher education system, its fundamental purpose and greatest political appeal was its proposed method of controlling costs. Because of "mounting enrollments in the state's institutions of higher education," stated the survey team, "the state's financial outlook, and a growing concern that competition and unnecessary, wasteful duplication between the state colleges and the University of California might cost the taxpayers millions of dollars."[74] The Master

Plan proposed a reallocation of projected enrollment within the tripartite system. Since the Progressive Era, UC's admissions pool had been around the top 15 percent of high school graduates as assessed by grade point averages. The plan was to restrict that pool of students to the top 12.5 percent. The state colleges, or what became the California State University (CSU), were restricted from the approximately the top 43 to the top 33.3 percent of high school graduates. This change, it was projected, would shift some 50,000 prospective students from the University of California and CSU to the locally funded junior colleges with significantly lower operating costs. Combined with the development of an ordered process of new campus development, the plan, it was promised, would save millions of taxpayer dollars.

The Master Plan offered other important recommendations. For one, the state increased funding for undergraduate scholarships to encourage students to attend private colleges and thereby reduce demand for public institutions. California also established a coordinating agency to regulate program growth within the tripartite system and to review and present higher education budgets to the legislature—effectively replacing the Liaison Committee.[75] The Survey Team also explained to state lawmakers that even with the proposed methods for cost-cutting, their projection of state funds available for higher education would be inadequate as early as 1962. The state would need to generate additional tax revenues to expand the tripartite system. "Even though this state possesses the taxable wealth," explained the authors, "a critical question concerns its willingness to use larger proportions of this wealth for its educational welfare."[76]

To the great disappointment of Kerr and university officials, the 1960 Plan was never placed in the California constitution. The state legislature refused to relinquish its ability to alter the system. Instead, most of the provisions of the Master Plan were passed as statutory law. Many important recommendations (including admissions standards and the recommendation to maintain a no-tuition policy) became simply formal agreements between the higher education community and lawmakers. And to the aggravation of Dumke and faculty in the new California State University system, the legislature refused to give the level of autonomy agreed to in Kerr's office. The CSU campuses remained under the tight reigns of state agencies in areas such as financing and personnel.

V. THE MASTER PLAN IN RETROSPECT AND A NEW ERA

Despite the failure to include the Master Plan in the state constitution, Clark Kerr's gambit essentially succeeded. California proceeded to fund a dramatic expansion of the state's higher education system that actually exceeded the 1960 projections. The Post-Master Plan era was also relatively free of the contentious rivalry between the state colleges and the university that had marked the previous three decades. Shaped by political pressures for controlling costs and the persistent efforts of Kerr and Dean McHenry, the plan retained the University of California's dominant position as the sole public research and doctoral training institution. The end result was a modified and

strengthened tripartite structure with its roots firmly planted in reform ideals of California Progressives.

The negotiation of the 1960 Master Plan represents the last major period of policymaking in the history of California public higher education. While other states restructured their postwar higher education system, often creating more powerful governing boards and agencies to consolidate and coordinate their network of old and new institutions, California, conversely, established a weak coordinating board as part of the Master Plan while providing more precise definition to the tripartite structure first envisioned by Progressives.[77]

For over thirty-five years the Master Plan has remained largely intact, preserving the logic of the tripartite system, and guiding a dramatic expansion in public enrollment. Before the onslaught of budget and leadership problems of the 1990s, a review by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development noted that in California, "the past dominates through the famous Master Plan of 1960 which is recognized throughout the OECD world as a blueprint for providing universal postsecondary educational opportunity, while preserving the separate 'missions' of the three types of public institutions."[78] California's effort at "master planning," also encouraged other states to replicate, if not the edicts of California's plan, its organic approach. By the end of the 1960s, twenty-three states completed so-called "master plans," while eight others were in the process, and seven others announced their intention to complete a plan.[79]

But perhaps the most significant effect of the 1960 Master Plan was not simply that it preserved the logic of the tripartite system and averted wholesale reform, or that it shifted enrollment to lower cost community colleges; rather, that it induced a sense of ordered policymaking. Completion of the Plan, and the extensive national media coverage that followed (Kerr, for example, was featured on the cover of *Time Magazine*), elevated the confidence of lawmakers and the public in the ability of California's higher education community to manage and expand their respective segments—though this confidence would be tested by the Free Speech Movement and anti-war demonstrations. The plan clarified for lawmakers their responsibilities in higher education policymaking, including their obligation to fund enrollment expansion. Gone were the days of an avalanche of bills for new campuses. The Master Plan ended a long-era of conflict over the future of California higher education and brought a new era of stability.

It is only under the pressure of a significant period of economic and demographic instability, that California is perhaps entering another important period of change for its higher education system. In no small measure, California's aggressive effort to expand its higher education system relied on its prosperous economy and political leaders, supported by the electorate, who invested in the state's future. The prospect of both continued population growth and changing labor and research needs drove policymakers in California. In the 1990s, this political culture has waned, replaced by skepticism over an activitist government, tax revolts that have constricted state funding of public colleges and universities, and questions regarding the ability, and the will, of

Californians to continue their historical level of financial support for the existing higher education system. Technological changes, including distance learning, also provide a new context for possible reforms in curriculum and access to postsecondary education.

As in earlier periods of significant policy formulation, Californians will have to discuss what they want from their evolving system of higher education, what taxpayers are willing to subsidize, and what organizational and operating changes are needed. The answer will have a profound impact on educational opportunity, and on the future economic and social development of California—the nation's largest state in population, with an economy that ranks among the top eight in the world.

NOTES

[1] The author wishes to thank the Spencer Foundation and the National Academy of Education for their generous support of this project, and the editor of the *Annual* and reviewers for their constructive comments. This article is adopted from the forthcoming book, *California and the History of American Higher Education* (Stanford Univ. Press).

[2] Martin Trow noted that the "United States already had the organizational and structural framework for a system of mass higher education existed long before it had mass enrollments," "American Higher Education: Exceptional or Just Different," in *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism*, ed. Bryon E. Shafer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 139-86. For a discussion of the development of the idea of mass higher education, see Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968), 90-7; and Martin Trow, "Reflections on the Transition from Mass to University Higher Education," in *The Embattled University*, eds. Stephen R. Graubard and Geno A. Ballotti (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1970). Also, "The Democratization of Higher Education in America," *European Journal of Sociology* 3:2 (1962), and "Social Class and Higher Education," *American Behavioral Scientist* 25:4/5 (1992); Burton Clark, *The Open Door College: A Case Study* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960) on the development of the junior college.

[3] Historians of American higher education have, in general, concentrated on institutional histories, or general surveys on the development of the nation's colleges and universities. Examples of the survey approach include Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965); and John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). Roger Geiger's two books, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986), and *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities Since World War II* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), provide an in-depth analysis of the rise of a class of research institutions. Beyond a series of state surveys completed largely before World War II, there are only two relatively recent studies on how and why states nurtured and developed higher education: David G. Sansing's, *Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss.: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1990), and Richard M. Freeland's, *Academies Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945-1970* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992). Freeland's study focuses on higher education in Massachusetts after World War II, but reflecting the powerful influence of private colleges and universities in the state, Freeland's account is more a compilation of different histories of varied institutions.

[6] Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the Univ. of California, *A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1960), 27.

[7] Delegates to the 1849 Constitutional Convention, "Address to the People of California," quoted in *Constitution of 1849* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1949).

[8] Martin Trow, "Federalism in Higher Education," in *Higher Learning in America, 1980-2000*, ed. Arthur Levine (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press).

[9] Quoted in William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California*, (San Francisco: Frank H. Dukesmith, 1895)31.

[10] Benjamin Silliman, Jr., "The Truly Practical Man, Necessarily an Education Man: Oration Delivered at the Commencement of the College of California, June 5, 1867," in Pamphlets on the College of California, Univ. of California Archives, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, p. 18.

[11] Verne A. Stadtman, *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Printing Department, 1967), 293-98.

[12] See John Aubrey Douglass, "Creating a Fourth Branch of Government: The Univ. of California and the Constitutional Convention of 1879," *History of Education Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 31-72.

[13] *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, 1879* (Sacramento, 1880), 1110.

[14] Ibid., 1476.

[15] Orrin Leslie Elliott, *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Palo Alto: Stanford Univ. Press, 1937), 123.

[16] *Utica Observer*, 4 October 1901.

[17] See George E. Crothers, *Founding of the Leland Stanford Junior University* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1932); David Starr Jordan, "The Educational Ideas of Leland Stanford," *The Sequoia* (13 September 1983).

[18] David Starr Jordan, "University Tendencies in America," *The Popular Science Monthly* LXIII (June 1903): 143-44; see also Edward McNall Burns, *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1953), 154-158.

[19] Enrollment and salary figures are reported in *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, 214.

[20] Benjamin Ide Wheeler, speech before the Annual Dinner of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, 27 July 1909, in *University of California Chronicle* XII (1910): 188-191.

[21] Cited in Clark Kerr, "Remarks by President Kerr: Ninety-Second Charter Day Ceremonies," 21 March 1960, University of California, Berkeley, University of California Archives (henceforth UCA).

[20] By the 1920s, notes Roger Geiger in his study on the history of American research universities, University of California had something missing "in other state universities: a commitment not just to quality but to academic preeminence." Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge*, 211.

[21] Cited in William Warren Ferrier, *Origin and Development of the University of California* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1930), 478.

[22] Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California*, 138.

[23] See Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge*, 211.

[24] The innovation of teaching workload formulas for state budgeting purposes, first adopted by the state of Texas in the early 1950s, marked the next step in the evaluation of enrollment driven budgets.

[25] Alexis F. Lange, "The Junior College," in *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1915, 119-124.

[26] Idem., "The Junior College—What Manner of Child This Be!" *School and Society* VII (23 February 1918): 211-16: Lange states that "in the interest of the public welfare the junior college must do something far more vitally significant than to improve the care and culture of the privileged few and to ameliorate the sad lot of universities." See also Walter Crosby Eells, "What Manner of Child This Be?" *Junior College Journal* (February 1931): 309-28.

[27] Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California: Leaders, Organizations, and Accomplishments of the First Hundred Years* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1952), 130.

[28] Alexis F. Lange, "The Unification of Our School System," *Sierra Education News* V (June 1909): 346.

[29] William Martin Proctor, "California's Contribution to the Junior College Movement," in *The Junior College: Its Organization and Administration*, ed. Proctor (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1927), 1-10. Seymour E. Harris, *A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 373-75.

[30] A. F. Lange, "The Junior College," in *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1915, 119-12. See also Proctor, *The Junior College: Its Organization and Administration*, 17-25.

[31] Ibid., 264.

[32] Inaugural Address of Robert Gordon Sproul as President of the University of California, 22 October 1930, Berkeley, UCA.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Quoted in Stadtman, *The University of California*, 262.

[35] Ibid., 261.

[36] Monroe E. Deutsch, "A Point of View Concerning the Report of the Carnegie Foundation," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education* 8, no. 2 (January 1933): 117-21.

[37] Ibid.; Arthur G. Coons, *Crises in California Higher Education* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1968), 26-27; Robert Sproul to Earl Warren, 13 May 1943, UCA.

[38] California Senate, *Senate Bill 895*, Chapter 493, passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor on 29 May 1931.

[39] *Suzzallo Report*, 13-14; Deutsch, "A Point of View Concerning the Report of the Carnegie Foundation," 121, lists the members: "The chairman was Samuel P. Capen, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, who for five years (1914-19) was the specialist in higher education for the United States Bureau of Education; another member was George F. Zook, now president of the municipal University of Akron and who was also for five years (1920-25) specialist in higher education for the United States Bureau of Education. Teachers colleges were represented by James E. Russell, Dean Emeritus of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, and Orval R. Letham, President of Iowa State Teachers College. The only state university official in the group was President Lotus D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota. The remaining two were Dean Charles H. Judd of the School of Education in the University of Chicago, and Professor Albert B. Meredith, Professor of Education and Head of the Department of Administration in the School of Education of New York University."

[40] Robert Gordon Sproul, address given at the Annual Charter Day Dinner, 23 March 1932, quoted in George A. Pettitt, *Twenty-Eight Years in the Life of a University President* (Berkeley: Univ. Of California Press, 1966), 201-03.

[41] *Suzallo Report*, 15.

[42] In cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, the Carnegie Foundation was in the midst of a survey of state systems of higher education that noted a general trend toward a single board for all higher education—what were termed "superboards." The survey was later published in 1933 as *The State and Higher Education: Phases in Their Relationship*, and noted that state governments have "a tendency to develop institutions, public and private, with little regard to possible unneeded overlapping of their curricula.... Because no suitable state agency has been available to examine the educational questions involved in the chartering of new universities or colleges, institutions have multiplied largely as a result of persistence and interest of their founders, or the zeal of local communities, rather than because higher education in a state or region would be better served by their establishment." The Carnegie Foundation, *The State and Higher Education: Phases in Their Relationship* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Foundation, 1933), VIII-IX.

[43] *Suzallo Report*, 29.

[44] Ibid., 21-3.

[45] Ibid., 42, 47.

[46] Board of Regents Minutes, 13 September 1932; Cloud, *Education in California*, 176.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Assembly Bill 174*, 1935, *California Statutes*, Chapter 261, p. 948; see also Vasche, "California State Colleges," 3.

[49] William M. Proctor, quoted in *The Junior College Journal* (April 1936), 20.

[50] *California Statutes of 1943*, Chapter 1130, Section 3, pp. 3073-75.

[51] Regents Committee on Educational Policies and Relations, Minutes, 23 September 1943; Stadtman, *University of California*, 345.

[52] Similar opposition by the state's land-grant university to the regional college movement could be found in Wisconsin, essentially delaying the transition of Wisconsin's normal schools to state colleges until 1951. See Walker D. Wyman, ed., *History of the Wisconsin State Universities* (Wisconsin: River Falls State Univ. Press, 1968), 13-15; Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, vol II (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 236; Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated; Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 1-26.

[53] University of California, Board of Regents, *Minutes*, 19 January 1945; "The Origin and Functions of the Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California," Joint Staff for the Liaison Committee and the Technical Advisory Committee, August 1957 revision, Liaison Committee Minutes and Reports, Sacramento, California State Archives.

[54] In his study of state efforts at higher education planning, D. Kent Halstead notes that the "national attention received by this comprehensive report did much to dramatize the obsolescence of the state survey." D. Kent Halstead, *Statewide Planning in Higher Education* (Washington D.C.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1974), 10.

[55] Monroe E. Deutsch, Aubrey A. Douglass, and George Strayer, *A Report of the Survey of the Needs of California in Higher Education* (Berkeley: University of California, 1948); enrollment projections were based on two federal reports, the National Resources Planning Board's *National Development Report, Part I* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943),69-70; and the President's Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education for American Democracy*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), 39.

[56] Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, vol. II (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 265.

[57] See Council of State Governments, *Higher Education in the Forty-Eight States* (Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1952), 79, 170-173; Robert O. Berdahl, *Statewide Coordination of Higher Education* (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1971), 202.

[58] T. C. Holy, T. R. McConnell, and H. H. Semans, *A Restudy of the Needs of California in Higher Education*, prepared for the Liaison Committee of the Regents of the University of California and the State Board of Education (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1955).

[59] Hubert H. Semans, interview with author, 10 May 1989, Los Altos Hills, California. Semans was a member of the Liaison Committee's Joint Staff for the State Department of Education and a co-author of the Restudy Report.

[60] A. Alan Post (former California State Legislative Analyst) interview with author, 19 April 1989, Sacramento.

[61] Ibid.; Semans interview.

[62] *A Restudy*.

[63] California Legislature, "Building Needs for State Colleges and Schools: Fifteenth Report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education," Sacramento, 1957.

[64] In an attempt to reassert the role of the Regents and the State Board of Education, the Liaison Committee formulated a list of possible campuses based on new enrollment projections. Unlike the Strayer and restudy reports, the 1957 Additional Centers Report had no legislative sanction.

[65] Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the state Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California, 14 March 1959.

[66] Dean McHenry to Clark Kerr, 17 March 1959, McHenry File, UCA; T. C. Holy, "Some Factors Indicated the Need for Overhaul in the Control of Public Higher Education in California," 22 April 1959, Liaison Committee File, UCA.

[67] As explained by Arthur G. Coons, President of Occidental College, these other members of California's higher education system shared the bewilderment of the university over state college growth. Arthur G. Coons, *Crisis in California Higher Education* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie, 1968), 21-22.

[68] Minutes, Joint Meeting of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California, 14 March 1959, Alumni House, Berkeley, CSA; Clark Kerr, interview with author, 7 August 1992.

[69] *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 April 1959.

[70] *Master*, 27.

[71] "Brown Asks Action on College Issue," *Berkeley Daily* Gazette, 30 November 1959.

[72] "Master Plan on College Policy Due," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 2 December 1959; "Higher Education Program Still Faces Many Hurdles," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 1 December 1959.

[73] Liaison Committee Minutes, 7-8 December 1959; Clark Kerr, interview with author, 11 February 1994, Berkeley; Coons, *Crises in California Higher Education*, 33-34.

[74] *Master Plan*, xi.

[75] See *Master Plan*, 1-15.

[76] *Ibid.*, 188-91.

[77] Critics of the Master Plan include Marc R. Tool, "The California State Colleges Under the Master Plan: A Report to the Academic Senate of the CSC," March 1967, p. 60; "Prof Group Wants State Colleges on Par with UC," *Sacramento Bee*, March 25, 1966; see also T. R. McConnell, "Flexibility, Quality, and Authority in Coordinating Systems of Higher Education," in Neil J. Smelser and Gabriel Almond, *Public Higher Education in California* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), 170-171; Peter Hall, *Great Planning Disasters* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1980), 152-179.

[7] Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), "Review of Higher Education Policy in California: Examiners' Report and Questions," February 1989, 9.

[8] D. Kent Halstead, *Statewide Planning in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, U.S. Printing Office, 1974), 10.

Review Essay

College as it was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

ROGER L. GEIGER

with

JULIE ANN BUBOLZ

James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff, *College As It Is, or, The Collegian's Manual in 1853*, with an Introduction by ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Libraries, 1996. xxxv, 314 pp.

OTHER TITLES

David A. Wells and Samuel H. Davis, *Sketches of Williams College* (Williamstown, Mass.: 1847).

Benjamin H. Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1851; revised edition, 1856).

Charles A. Bristed, *Five Years in an English University*, vol. 2 (N.Y.: 1851).

George R. Cutting, *Student Life at Amherst College: Its Organizations, Their Membership and History* (Amherst, Mass.: 1871).

Lyman H. Bagg, *Four Years at Yale* (New Haven, Conn.: 1871).

David Allmendinger begins his study of student life in nineteenth-century New England colleges by calling his subjects "the silent people of higher education."[1] Yet, by the end of the antebellum years of which he wrote, those silent people had found a distinctive voice. The previously unpublished memoir of James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff is but one exemplar of an unusual genre: descriptive accounts by actual students of their everyday curricular and especially extracurricular experiences. These works stand out in two respects.

First, student life held an abiding interest for American men of letters in the nineteenth century. This interest was first expressed in moralistic tales, and later in an outpouring of reminiscences by sentimental old grads.[2] College novels, which began to appear in the 1880s, comprise another large part of this corpus.[3] The works discussed here, however, were written by students during or immediately after attendance, apparently to provide a true picture of college life to the public, pleasant reminiscences to alumni, or amusement for students much like themselves.[4]

Second, these generally celebratory pieces appeared only a short time after some of the worst student disorders in American history. During the first three decades of the century, students at these same colleges thought themselves to be in a perpetual war with their teachers, the 'immediate government' of the colleges.[5] By the 1840s, however, a new generation of students regarded their college years with such ardent nostalgia that they felt compelled to memorialize these experiences. The welcome publication of this memoir by the Princeton University Libraries, thus provides an insight into midcentury Princeton (or the College of New Jersey, as it was still officially named), but also provides an occasion to examine this curious and ephemeral phenomenon.

* * *

Henry and Scharff appear to be representative, if not typical, Princeton students.[6] Both entered as sophomores, as did most midcentury Princetonians, and both appear to have been reasonably conscientious in their studies. Henry graduated twenty-third among the 67 men of '53, while Scharff ranked sixth. Both subsequently practiced law. Their memoir was composed in the last half of their senior year. Henry wrote a bit more than Scharff, and an anonymous third party apparently contributed a small section, but all assumed the voice of an anonymous narrator. They apparently intended eventually to give their work to the Princeton library. However, their principal motivation must have been their own enjoyment in reconstructing the times when they "gloried in the name of Student" (p. 198). Understanding how this happy state of existence came to pass probably holds the greatest interest for today's reader. It was a product of the interaction of the studies required of the students, the disciplinary regime imposed by the college, and the freedom available to students to fashion their own unique world.

On the surface, the authors' course of study at Princeton conformed to the pattern that had existed in North America for more than 200 years. The basic studies, especially for the first two years, were Latin, Greek, and mathematics; and students recited them almost every day. Three recitations were scheduled—at 7 A.M. (between morning prayers and breakfast), 11 A.M., and 4 P.M. The spacing was deliberate: students were expected to devote the intervening time to prepare for the next recitation and were required to be in their rooms in order to do so. In the junior year at Princeton, Latin and Greek were reduced, and rhetoric and belles lettres added; but emphasis was placed on mathematics through calculus, the most difficult subject of the entire college course. Seniors studied only a little Greek, while having lectures and recitations in chemistry, physics, astronomy, and philosophy. On paper, this may appear to be a formidable course of study, but custom and usage made it otherwise.

By the 1850s (and undoubtedly earlier) a regime had evolved that was forgiving to both teachers and learners. The authors estimated that they needed only 30 minutes of "polling" [studying] to prepare for a Latin or Greek recitation. For the less conscientious, which would describe a good number of their classmates, other stratagems lightened the burden. Students had a good idea of approximately when they would be called upon to recite, and thus could prepare quite selectively. If caught unaware, one

could find pretexts to walk out of class! Examinations of varying seriousness were held, with junior mathematics being the most difficult, but cheating was common and tacitly condoned. Studies at Princeton were scarcely a farce: some students worked diligently; most respected their obligations even while cutting corners; and a minority performed the minimum needed to get by. Failure was theoretically possible, but no examples are mentioned. The course of study at Princeton was, in fact, an unspoken compromise between the tempered expectations of teachers and the restrained exertions of students. Discipline in the college followed much the same pattern.

Students were expected to conform to an exacting list of college regulations that had changed little since discipline had been tightened early in the century. However, the faculty had largely lost the will to enforce these rules. "No shouting, loud-talking,... or any other boisterous noise shall be permitted in the entries or rooms of the college at any time," is one law the authors ridiculed as being a dead letter. Likewise, the rules against visiting taverns or eating houses in town would, if obeyed, have cramped the students' social lives. In some matters the erosion of control was palpable. Until 1851, absences from recitations were marked excused or unexcused, but, in that year, absences began to be simply recorded and entered onto student report cards. Similarly, the faculty made perfunctory passes through student living quarters during study hours, noting those not present for another report card entry. Nevertheless, the authority of the college, although invoked almost reluctantly, remained an awesome presence in the life of the students, ready to strike anyone who transgressed the murky boundaries of approved behavior.

Excessive absences would trigger a letter notifying parents and, if continued, possible 'dismission.'[7] Perhaps least tolerated was public (or discovered) intoxication, which was likely to bring immediate separation from the college. The only professor who seemingly had the stomach to search out and occasionally apprehend miscreants was 'Johnny' Maclean, soon to be president (1854-68). Beloved by students, partly because of these ineffectual efforts, pranks or 'sprees' lost much of their attraction when he was absent from campus. The tacit limits of college authority were repeatedly tested. The class of '53, as juniors, rebelled against "disagreeable" assignments for rhetoric recitations, refusing in a petition to perform the work. They were quickly threatened with dismission, and meekly forced to recant. Later, though, the assignments were changed.

In sum, the Princeton students had only a modest and manageable amount of classroom assignments to perform, lived under a regime that was sufficiently authoritarian to challenge their anarchic propensities, and had fairly abundant free time with which to fashion a distinctive social regime.

While the institution made great claims on their mind and spirit, it left students to their own devices for most personal needs. They furnished their own rooms, most cheaply with used furniture sold by the servants, and they made all other arrangements for necessities. Because the system of dining at commons had broken down at Princeton, students boarded throughout the town. Although this practice fragmented the class, mealtimes were apparently occasions for intense conviviality. The most

fashionable place to board for '53 was at the Princeton Theological Seminary. Besides being free during and after meal hours, when students congregated at the post office or played organized games,[8] they also had six hours per day ostensibly to study for recitations. This provided ample time for reading, conversation, country walks, or some of their other official and unofficial duties.

In addition to lectures (for juniors and seniors) scheduled at odd hours, students also had to find time for various structured activities. Students in each class were required to deliver public addresses. Senior orations were the culmination of these exercises and were presented before an audience of townspeople, apparently enticed to attend by the accompanying musical performances. Students also must have used some of their time for the activities of the literary societies which, being secret, are not described. Still, compared with later in the century, the class of '53 had few sanctioned student activities. The only recognized organizations were the two literary societies, the *Nassau Literary Magazine* (f. 1842), and a religious association. Princetonians thus divided their time among academic, ancillary, or personal pursuits.

After 8:30 P.M. students were assumed to be safely ensconced in their rooms, preparing for the morning's recitation. In fact, they were fairly free for whatever mischief they might devise. This was the time for hazing the "newies," clandestine whist parties, secret banquets, and various "sprees." Fact and campus legend undoubtedly blend in the retelling of these manifestations of youthful exuberance. One notorious example was the sophomore horn spree: students climbed high into trees on a dark night and blew "tin horns and bugles...until forced to retire by the Faculty throwing off their dignity, and following the students up the trees" (p. 136). As at most colleges, the sophomores had a reputation for being most rowdy, while seniors guarded their new-found dignity with somewhat more reserved behavior.

Overall, Henry and Scharff describe the class as the inviolable unit of college life, and the inexorable progression from freshman (or sophomore) to senior emerges as the most powerful psychological feature of the college experience. Each sphere of student life was affected—classroom duties, other structured activities, and, of particular importance to the students themselves, a sense of self and campus status. College was thus an exceedingly dynamic experience for midcentury students, which may account for the intense feelings it generated. That such experiences were not limited to Princeton is apparent from the appearance of other student writings at this time.

* * *

Henry and Scharff probably got the idea for composing a memoir from reading other works of this type. In all likelihood, the Cliosophic literary society, to which both belonged, would have possessed volumes of such direct interest to students. Editor J. Jefferson Looney notes a similarity to *Sketches of Williams College*, which appeared in 1847. This hundred-page volume is divided between "Williams College As It Has Been" and "Williams College As It Is." In the latter, the authors adopt a conceit of viewing the college experience sequentially through the eyes of a more or less typical student. This

same form is much more fully developed by Henry and Scharff. In fact, the Princeton memoir represents a considerable advance in the emergence of a student voice.

Although written by students "yet in their teens," and "without the supervision of older and wiser heads" (p. v), *Sketches of Williams College* has a semi-official air.[9] Published in Williamstown shortly after the Williams College semi-centennial, its avowed intention was to entertain the public and touch the sentiments of alumni. The first half of the volume is an informative history of the college's first fifty years. The presentation of the college "as it is" is largely descriptive, providing fairly straightforward information on the physical setting (always important for Williams), student excursions in the surrounding mountains, the college buildings, organizations, and course of study. Only the chapter on "College Life" attempts to convey a student perspective, and then with some rather forced irony. Overall, however, the tone is earnest: the fictional narrator subscribes totally to the 1828 Yale Report's concept of mental discipline; regards his classmates as 'brothers' by the time of graduation; and ends by lauding the Christian mission of the college.

In 1851, Harvard senior Benjamin H. Hall compiled an extensive "collection of college words and customs." He ostensibly published his collection to amuse other students, but also to "explain the character of student life" (p. iv). This work was in all probability the inspiration for Henry and Scharff's second chapter, which is a similar alphabetical glossary of terms current among students at Princeton. The labor of collating Princeton slang with that in more general usage has been performed by editor Looney. In general, this information shows Princetonians employing a distinctive idiom, as well as being conversant with the wider student argot.

Looney also suggests that Henry and Scharff may have drawn inspiration for their project from the memoir of Charles Astor Bristed, *Five Years in an English University*, which also appeared in 1851. While the general idea of recounting college life may have appealed to the authors, it seems unlikely that Bristed's actual account would have. He was at once fawning toward the exalted Cantabs, sanctimonious in his moral posture, and condescending toward American colleges. Only this last note is struck in *College As It Is*, and it is quite out of harmony with the rest of the book.

Americans with any acquaintance with European universities were well aware of the inadequacies of American colleges. Henry and Scharff, perhaps to establish their credibility or sophistication, begin their memoir by echoing the familiar plaints that the United States had too many colleges, inferior standards, and an absence of inducements for "Scientific and literary attainments" (p. 14). They then offer the incongruous suggestion that the entire system be torn up "root and branch," to be replaced by one in which colleges would serve as preparatory schools for a few true universities. One can detect echoes in these passages of Bristed as well as Brown president Francis Wayland, whose radical *Report to the Brown Corporation* appeared in 1850. However, the telling argument for having universities supersede colleges came directly from Henry Tappan's *University Education*, published in 1851.[10] Henry and Scharff thus signal their familiarity

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with the strong current of informed criticism of American higher education before launching, in quite a different vein, into their celebration of student life at Princeton.

Had they published their volume for contemporaries, Henry and Scharff might well have had their own imitators. Instead, the tradition of student memoirs appears to have gone dormant until after the Civil War—at least as far as the reviewers are aware.[11] In 1871, George R. Cutting published *Student Life at Amherst*, a somewhat disjointed narrative with unclear institutional sponsorship. Originally written as a history of the Amherst literary societies, Cutting was encouraged to expand his manuscript for the college's semi-centennial. The chief theme is the waning of the literary societies due to the rise of more secret fraternities. However, Cutting provides additional information on the continual formation and dissolution of student societies, including athletic groups that organized the nation's first intercollegiate 'base ball' game in 1859.

Also in 1871, the jewel of all student memoirs appeared: *Four Years at Yale* by "a graduate of '69." The author, Lyman H. Bagg, professedly sought to correct a general misunderstanding of college life by providing a close factual description of the entire college experience.[12] In more than 700 pages he detailed the operation of Yale's unique system of class societies, student life in each of the four classes, and relations between students and Yale college within the "official curriculum." Sixteen years and 150 miles removed from the Princeton of Henry and Scharff, Bagg's Yale exhibited difference in detail but similarity in spirit. Yalies endured a more formalized disciplinary regime in which all absences resulted in "marks" (demerits) and missed recitations had to be made up. But the system was easily accommodated, and ultimately entrusted Yale students with greater responsibilities. If students avoided failing grades or excessive marks, they were "left to their own devices. Where a man is, or what he is doing, outside the hours when his presence is required at recitation, lecture, or chapel, the faculty make no effort to enquire" (p. 588). Student autonomy at Yale by '69 had advanced well beyond Princeton of the 'Johnny' Maclean era.[13]

Bagg offers considerably more than a student memoir. His historical accounts are the standard source for several aspects of Yale student life.[14] His depiction of Yale is minute and above all candid. When used to supplement Henry and Scharff, Bagg, and to a lesser extent the other works mentioned here, can refine understanding of the student experience during a transitional era for the American college.

* * *

In mid-nineteenth century, the Eastern colleges were still Christian institutions, but they had ceased to embody their former religious mission. One would not grasp this by reading their official spokesmen—presidents Noah Porter of Yale and John Maclean—who "would make every other part of education subordinate to [the study of religion], and ... imbue the minds of our youth with the principles of piety and virtue."[15] These testimonies, however, indicate that the realities of student life were otherwise. The mandatory religious services may have framed the daily routine of college students, but like so many other requirements they were observed in a perfunctory manner. Students

who lived their Christian commitments or were preparing for a religious vocation tended to be marginalized in this close community. They had their own societies that met on weekday evenings for voluntary prayers; but Bagg described such sessions as "thinly attended," while Princeton students spoke disparagingly of "religs" and "Seminoles" (seminary students). Henry and Scharff dutifully report that "a young man may become, or Continue religious, at this College," but clearly this was a minor concern for most of their classmates.[16]

Nor had college yet become an arena for social climbing. Bagg could speak about an individual's 'social importance' as a fact of life—which it was given the class structure of the gilded age. But within the colleges social homogeneity seemed to reign in spite of obvious differences in wealth. Henry and Scharff wrote of "Hyphenutes," who had elegantly appointed rooms, exhibited insouciant manners, and socialized with genteel townspeople. Bagg too identified a minority of wealthy students who partook of New Haven Society. But such matters seem to have counted for comparatively little among classmates. Henry and Scharff depict Princetonians as a collection of varied types: the "poller" studied to achieve high honors; the "fancy man" sought constant social activity; the Hyphenute displayed his affluence; while the "spreer" devoted himself to drinking and cards. The "scientific man" projected an image of serious learning but actually knew little; and the "Chemist" was absorbed in fearsome experiments. Although the authors affirm the importance of character at several points, no single set of accepted student values emerges from their account. They even complain with some exasperation that the kind of meaningful competition that might stimulate and reward a student's talents was lacking. Studying hard for first honors merited no more distinction "than he who has passed his time in idleness and amusement" (p. 177).

In contrast, Yale sixteen years later comes much closer to embodying the values that would dominate Eastern colleges by the end of the century. Bagg describes a unitary moral order based on "personal character"—"the thing by which a man stands or falls in college" (p. 691).[17] Student life consisted of a continual competition that brought forth and largely rewarded men according to their character and abilities. The driver behind this process was the Yale society system, in which students were evaluated and selected to successive freshmen, sophomore, junior, and senior secret societies—with the last constituting the real prize. The social life of the class, formal and informal activities, even academic standing—all fed into the ultimate judgment. Bagg regarded the most prized senior society as a true meritocracy, combining "the best of the good scholars, good literary men, and good fellows" (pp. 178-79).

Students who did not partake of "the full glory of student life at Yale" were to be pitied. This did not require joining the societies (Bagg himself was a "neutral") but certain behaviors were beyond the pale. Students who would "dig for a stand" (study hard for high grades) were disapproved. Also ostracized were those who entered Yale too young or "green," and sought to compensate by "bumming." (Henry and Scharff make this same argument against freshmen at Princeton--that their immaturity makes

them prone to dissipation and "injured moral character" [p. 107].) So important was proper socialization in one's class that Bagg recommended students attend the top boarding schools in order to "stand the best chance of having a successful career at Yale" (p. 689).

Bagg's impulse to standardize the age and background of Yale students is evidence of a significant transformation underway. For most of the century American colleges harbored students ranging in age from their early teens to late twenties. By midcentury, however, the Eastern colleges contained an increasingly homogeneous youth culture, which Bagg instinctively sought to reinforce with his recommendations.[18] Princeton would be little different from Yale by the end of the century, when the exclusive upperclass eating clubs were in full operation.[19] However, for the class of '53 these factors were clearly muted.

With respect to the curriculum, the testimony of students does not support the conventional wisdom. As Samuel Eliot Morison put it for Harvard: "almost every graduate of the period 1825-1860 has left on record his detestation of the system of instruction at Harvard."[20] Perhaps in later life its shortcomings were more apparent. For actual students, Morison's "stupid method of instruction" may have been dry (as Henry and Scharff concede), but it was also easy and manageable. Charles Bristed is virtually alone in believing that the classics were of such value that additional years should be devoted to learning them well.[21] Henry and Scharff nevertheless complain that the classics were given insufficient weight at Princeton. Mathematics, in their view, received too much emphasis, in classroom time and in determining class standing. In their approach to languages and mathematics, Princeton students tended to favor one and neglect the other; but the authors found little evidence to support the prevailing belief that being forced to learn math trained the mind. Lyman Bagg offered virtually the same assessment for Yale. He would have had more classical studies because they might be more readily "choked down a man's throat" and still produce some lasting benefit. Mathematics, on the other hand, was simply inaccessible for many students (pp. 696-97).

Bagg was actually a staunch defender of the traditional curriculum, believing it to be most effective for the real students he described, as opposed to those whom reformers imagined to be thirsting for knowledge. He objected to electives because they disrupted class solidarity and he averred that modern languages, since they were taught badly, had no place in the college course. Henry and Scharff took the opposite position, considering modern languages badly taught only because poorly qualified part-time instructors were hired to teach them, and advocating a prominent place for them in the college course. They also complained that all instruction in physics and chemistry was crammed into the senior year instead of being treated in greater depth throughout the four-year course. Perhaps their strongest protest concerned the way grades were awarded. The evaluations of oral examinations could be capricious, and different instructors used widely varying standards. Numerical averages were nevertheless used to calculate a student's final class standing, where differences in rank might be

determined by only tenths of a point. In a narrative that is generally uncritical of "college as it is," these discontents reflect serious shortcomings in the Princeton course of study.

* * *

The memoir of Henry and Scharff, while not great literature, is an informative and sometimes entertaining account; and although idiosyncratic in some respects, it provides genuine insight into the student experience at a midcentury Eastern college. Above all, the book provides evidence for the hard-won autonomy of the student estate in these formerly repressive institutions—the precondition for the budding collegiate era. In this respect, it should be a forceful reminder that the 'old-time' or antebellum college was not the stagnant institution that it is generally portrayed to be, but was in constant, though not linear, evolution.

The value of this volume, in addition, is greatly enhanced by the fine editorship of J. Jefferson Looney. His "Introduction" provides, among other information, a familiarity with the two authors. The abundant footnotes he has added elucidate the Princeton faculty, historical incidents, and the retrospective experience of coeval Princeton students. This contextual information elevates this memoir from an historical curiosity to a valuable historical document.

NOTES

[1] David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: 1975), 3.

[2] College reminiscences began to appear in the 1880s, and became legion with the establishment of regular alumni publications early in the twentieth century. The two most famous exemplars: Cornelius Howard Patton and Walter Taylor Field, *Eight O'Clock Chapel: A Study of New England College Life in the Eighties* (Boston, 1927); and Henry Seidel Canby, *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College* (New York: 1936).

[3] *Fair Harvard* (New York: 1869) by William Tucker Washburn (Harvard '62) may have been the first widely read novel of college life. It depicts almost total preoccupation with extracurricular activities, including much mischief. Within a decade, novels portraying Harvard, Yale, and Princeton students in this light had become commonplace: John E. Kramer, Jr., *The American College Novel: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1981), 6-15.

[4] Not considered in this review are student diaries, since they were not written for the public. However, one informative diary that bears comparison with the Henry and Scharff memoir is William Gardiner Hammond, *Remembrance of Amherst: An Undergraduate's Diary, 1846-1848*, ed. George F. Wicher (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1946). Unlike later memorialists, Hammond appears to have been an all-around collegian *and* a model student. Remarkably, Hammond actually envisioned a grander account of student life:

> I have a favorite conception, which in the hands of one whose genius should be adequate to the task might be carried out, I think, in a most grand work. It is the inward life of a student. Suppose him beginning young: describe the phases of his mind, the

stages of development, the fluctuations of his opinions, the progress of his studies, the working of his passions. The whole work should be devoted wholly to this: the plot simple, and subordinate characters only instruments for the development of the principal. Such a work well written would be an era in literature. (p. 63)

[5] For student rebellions at Princeton: Mark A. Noll, "Before the Storm: Life at Princeton College 1806-1807," *Princeton Library Chronicle* 42 (1981): 145-64; (and for 1823) Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1946), 176-78. For general causes: Leon Jackson, "The Rights of Man and the Rites of Youth: Fraternity and Riot at Eighteenth Century Harvard," *History of Higher Education Annual* 15 (1995): 5-49.

[6] James Buchanan Henry was the orphaned son of a Presbyterian minister who was raised by his uncle James Buchanan, later the 15th President of the United States. He was seventeen when he entered Princeton. Christian Henry Scharff was born in the Netherlands, moved to Newark at age nine, and matriculated at sixteen: "Introduction," xxv-xxxii.

[7] 'Dismission' was separation from the college for an indefinite time, but with the right to request reinstatement. Expulsion was permanent—the ultimate punishment the college could impose: Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 102, 108.

[8] In a rare gesture of moderation, the faculty, in 1828, recommended that students be allowed some time "to be absent from their rooms for the purpose of recreation and exercise:" Princeton Faculty Minutes, 15 September 1828. Our thanks to Ronald A. Smith for this reference, as well as other suggestions.

[9] The Williams *Sketches* may have been modeled on *Sketches of Yale College* (New York: 1843) published anonymously but written by a student, Ezekial Porter Belden (Yale '44). His aim seems to have been a short concise guide to the university. The first third is a condensed history, the middle virtually a catalogue of official information, and the last third an account of "College Life." This last section contains an orthodox description of a studious "Day in College," followed by more candid accounts of extracurricular customs and anecdotes.

[10] Francis Wayland, *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850* (Providence, R.I.: 1850); Henry Tappan, *University Education* (New York: 1851), 68.

[11] The reviewers would welcome from readers any suggestions of additional writings that might belong to this genre.

[12] Lyman Bagg was paid an average of $25 per week for 44 weeks by publisher Charles C. Chatfield to write *Four Years at Yale*. The contract (17 August 1870) stipulated that Bagg remain anonymous and that his compensation remain secret. He posed as an editor of Chatfield's paper, *The College Courant*, during this time: Lyman H. Bagg papers, Yale University Archives, Box 3.

[13] Maclean's successor at Princeton, James McCosh (1868-1888), resisted the kind of toleration described by Bagg, and instead persisted in the Sisyphean labor of attempting to enforce all college regulations: J. David Hoevelar, Jr., *James McCosh and the Scottish Intellectual Tradition: From Glasgow to Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 260-61.

[14] Bagg contributed articles on "Boating Clubs" and "The Bully Club" to William L. Kingsley's *Yale College: A Sketch of Its History* (New York: 1879).

[15] "Inaugural Address" in John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey, 1746-1854*, vol. 2 (NewYork: Arno Press, 1969 [1877]), 411-36, quote p. 427. Noah Porter's views were somewhat more nuanced while still considering the religious mission to be fundamental: *The American College and the American Public* (New Haven, Conn.: 1870), chapter 11.

[16] None of these works acknowledges the presence of older students, who were common earlier in the century (see n. 17, below) and who typically prepared for the ministry. During the presidency of James Carnahan (1824-54), a fairly consistent 17 percent of Princeton graduates became ministers: Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* II, 344-45. Indigent students, likewise, receive no mention, although they continued to attend Princeton in the age of McCosh: Hoevelar, *McCosh*, 259-60.

[17] Bagg's emphasis on character was congruent with Eastern colleges' own evolving interpretation of their mission, particularly educating the "whole man:" George E. Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst: Amherst College Press, 1964), 34-37.

[18] Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars*, 129-38; Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

[19] The self-perpetuating upperclass eating clubs appeared in the 1880s: Alexander Leitch, *A Princeton Companion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), 146-49. In Henry's and Scharff's day, temporary eating clubs were organized by less wealthy students, with the result that "the quality of their board" was determined by "the quantity of their funds," 72.

[20] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1936), 260.

[21] William Hammond (see n. 4) was an exceptional student who cultivated a genuine love of classical literature and, like Bristed, attempted further study in Europe after graduation.

Review Essay

The Rise of the University and the Secularization of the Academy: The Role of Liberal Protestantism

KATHLEEN A. MAHONEY

George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994).

Put most simply, writing history entails describing and analyzing change over time and three recent works have taken up the broad topic of religious and moral changes in American higher education that occurred in concert with the emergence of the university. In *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief,* George M. Marsden explores liberal Protestantism's role in creating the modern university that, in turn, excluded religion from its intellectual centers. In *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality,* Julie A. Reuben explains how universities became increasingly scientific and, as a result, less willing and able to grapple with moral concerns. In *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education,* Douglas Sloan examines how twentieth-century Protestants tried but failed to reconnect the cause of Christianity with the modern, secular, and scientific university. The authors are of one mind: that liberal Protestantism was an active force propelling the rise of the university, but the university culture that liberal Protestantism helped create eventually proved inhospitable to religion and moral concerns. Taken together, these three create a map tracing a new historiographic path from the Christian college to the secular university, one in which liberal Protestantism played a critical role.[1]

More than a few works have used Protestantism to explain facets of the modern order, and among these Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* stands as a classic. Protestantism has loomed especially large in explanations of the American experience, whether it be the American temperament, Americans' fascina-

tion with science, or Westward expansion. In the history of American education, Protestantism has been invoked to explain everything from high degrees of literacy to common schooling, from Northern educational endeavors in the postbellum South to the proliferation of denominational colleges in the nineteenth century.[2]

Few historians have sensed the spirit of Protestantism at work in the rise of the university, although Hugh Hawkins clearly does. In *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot,* Hawkins describes how Eliot's Unitarian convictions informed his efforts to transform Harvard as well as American higher education.[3] But Hawkins is an exception. Until recently historians of higher education rarely discussed religion and the modern university except to describe how the forces of secularism represented by and operative in the university jettisoned religion from its once privileged and esteemed place. In this vein, the rise of science, the development of electives, and the introduction of voluntary (versus mandatory) chapel exercises functioned as evidentiary mainstays in the tale of the secularization of the academy.

Upon reflection, the fact that historians have not used Protestantism to explain the emergence of the university seems somewhat odd. In the first place, some of the most important and characteristic features associated with the university are easily linked to Protestantism. Science is the clearest example. Historians have often connected Protestantism and modern science,[4] yet the science of the academy was portrayed as a secular endeavor. The same pattern held true for the treatment of the elective system, another feature traditionally linked to the university. While liberty has a long-standing historiographic relationship with Protestantism, few have identified liberal Protestantism and its emphasis on liberty and human potential as the religious impulse that lay behind the development of the elective system.[5]

Furthermore, historians of higher education have paid an inordinate amount of attention to leading university figures such as Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins, Andrew Dickson White of Cornell, James B. Angell of Michigan, as well as Eliot of Harvard. To portray the men who helped launch the modern university as witting agents of secularism is to ignore the actors themselves. The leaders of the university movement were, on the whole, religious men, most committed to the liberal Protestant tradition. Many either considered becoming or already were ministers.[6] Time and again they explained and justified their endeavors in religious terms, frequently resorting to the ideals of liberal Protestantism. Moreover, as Marsden notes, it is counterintuitive to divorce the aims and efforts of the country's educators from the prevailing religious currents of the day. For, as historians such as Martin E. Marty and Robert T. Handy have demonstrated, this was an age in which the religious majority sought to Protestantize the country through cultural institutions.[7]

Focusing closely on administrators and faculty at leading universities, Marsden, Reuben, and Sloan spiritually revivify the universities, freeing them from a secular historiographic tomb. Coupled with a handful of other recent works,[8] we now have a corpus of books that explains Protestantism's contribution to the development of the

university, recreates the liberal Protestant ethos of the university roughly through the 1920s, connects the rise of value-free science with the marginalization of religion and morality, and documents mainline Protestantism's response to the epistemological challenges created by academe's embrace of the culture and method of science. There is a considerable degree of overlap in the three principal books examined here, and even at points of departure, one author picks up where another leaves off. Rather than treating each book individually, it seems appropriate to weave them together. Examined in this fashion, they provide a broad and revised story of the fate of religion and morality in American higher education spanning more than three hundred years.

* * *

Marsden and Reuben lead up to the main focus of their works, the fate of religion and morality in the university, by describing how religion and morality fared in American higher education in the period prior to the rise of the university. In laying this groundwork, they cover some familiar ground.

The world of seventeenth-century Harvard that Marsden depicts is well described by the word *unity*. The aim of the university was clear and agreed upon: to advance the Puritan mission through higher education. Socially, the students and the faculty were a largely homogeneous lot. Intellectually, the enterprise was held together by Reformation theology and scholasticism. Those who deviated from orthodox norms were academically excommunicated, as in the case of Henry Dunster, whose tenure as president ended in 1654 when his heterodox views about infant baptism surfaced. While other historians have debated it, Marsden considers seventeenth-century Harvard a thoroughly religious enterprise, and though some today might find the "cost . . . [of such] a tightly closed environment" problematic, according to Marsden, for "those who value Christian higher education," seventeenth-century Harvard "stands as a peak."[9]

The differences between seventeenth-century Harvard and Harvard in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were born of two revolutions, one political, the other scientific. In the wake of the American Revolution, Harvard and the other colonial colleges put themselves at the service of the nation, providing students, they claimed, with a liberal education befitting men of a republic. The appropriation of distinct political aims signaled a liberalization in and diversification of the aims and purposes of higher education. Harvardians and other college men were caught up as well in the scientific revolution and the natural sciences found a congenial home in the colleges. Neither of these shifts seemed revolutionary in the college context, in large part, because both were easily sanctioned by and congruent with Protestantism. In the case of the former, there were clear affinities between Protestantism and liberty. In the case of the latter, many were "confident that nature spoke to man of God, revealing a divine order at once intellectually satisfying and morally uplifting." There were, therefore, two complementary "fountains of knowledge" about God, nature and revelation, and as William Ellery Channing put it, God "never contradicts in revelation what He teaches in his works."[10]

What held this more diversified academic enterprise together in the antebellum period was a belief in the unity of all truth. As Reuben notes, it was an accepted "truism" of the age that "all truth agreed" whether religious, moral, or intellectual. Moreover, these truths "could be related to one another in a single system," i.e., a synthesis, and summarized for students at the end of their college years in a capstone course on moral philosophy. This was no mere cognitive exercise, for contemporaries presumed that all knowledge "had a moral dimension" and the acquisition of such made persons more moral.[11]

By mid-century Channing's confident claim about the congruence of revelation and nature was no longer assertable as a self-evident truth. At best, it was a proposition that required explanation. The assault on the unity of truth came from two directions. On the one hand, early biblical criticism had raised disturbing issues, particularly with regard to the authorship of the Scriptures. On the other, "naturalists" had raised disconcerting questions about the age of the earth. Nothing, of course, did more than the 1859 publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* to bring the competing claims of religion and science to the foreground. Coupled with the vast expansion of scientific knowledge and disciplines in the nineteenth century, college educators were confronted with a curricular conundrum: how to organize the college curriculum in a coherent, manageable fashion and simultaneously advance the religious and moral aims of higher education.

Here is where the three authors set off on a new path, making their particular contribution to the literature on the American university. Rather than depicting the university men as agents of secularism who, by creating "godless" universities, untied the Gordian knot that bound Christianity and the higher learning, the authors describe the university leaders' efforts to create a thoroughly religious institution grounded in and held together by a new, scientifically-oriented synthesis. Like the old synthesis, the new synthesis (or what Sloan called the Victorian synthesis) was to promote the cause of Christianity, but this was the "true Christianity," freed from the last vestiges of medievalism. This new synthesis would help shape the modern university and provide a basis for the religious and moral, as well as intellectual, formation of students, carrying forward, as Reuben notes, one of the central aims of the classical college.[12]

This expansive, liberal Protestant vision for higher education was rooted in millennial hopes that conflated the cause of Christianity with the cause of the nation and linked the success of both with the advances of modern science. In the liberal Protestant inspired university, there would be no room for sect, as Eliot confidently announced at his own inaugural as well as that of Daniel Coit Gilman. As representatives of the liberal Protestant tradition, the university men loathed the constraints of "narrow" sectarianism, rejected the concept of dogma, and disparaged the idea of religious authority. Put negatively, the success of the modern university meant exiling sectarian, dogmatic, and authoritarian religion from academe. In practice it entailed creating a nonsectarian university that promoted tolerance, reason, and liberty. In such a university, interaction among students from different religious traditions would

promote religious toleration, and voluntary and ecumenical religious services would engender a spirit of "true Christianity." In a nonsectarian university, scientific inquiry could proceed uninhibited by confessional constraints. Finally, informed by the Emersonian notion of self-reliance and liberal Protestant convictions about human goodness, the university men allowed students the liberty to elect their courses so they might develop their human (i.e., religious) potential.[13]

In an earlier edited volume, *The Secularization of the Academy*, Marsden claims that the religious ethos of the new universities reflected a shift from a "narrowly defined Christianity" toward a "broadly defined liberal Christianity that could be equated with civilization itself." This shift allowed for the "sacralization of the entire enterprise of higher education."[14] But simply to claim that the university was a Christian endeavor belied the complexity of the situation. Though leaders of the university movement could help create an institution where the tenets of liberal Protestantism were considered normative, the university was fundamentally an intellectual enterprise and a daunting intellectual challenge remained: reconciling religion and science (or in Sloan's analogue, faith and knowledge) and actually forming the new synthesis in which modern science served the moral and religious needs of the country.

Proponents of the new synthesis recognized that religion and science made contradictory truth-claims, but believed that these were only apparent contradictions. Here the scientific method would prove most useful, serving as a methodological arbiter to distinguish between what was true and what was not. Once religious, moral, and intellectual "truths" were determined, they could be variously harmonized, unified, or synthesized. In the spirit of the "intellectual gospel" and under the precept of "justification by verification," scientists would serve as the new high priests of the modern order. Their laboratories would function as the new temple and their findings as the new orthodoxy, giving direction and shape to religious and moral life as well as impetus to the material progress of the country.[15]

There is irony here: the comprehensive, expansive, liberal Protestant university rested on a narrower epistemological base. Those of Channing's era drew from two fountains of knowledge, nature and revelation, but his liberal Protestant descendants drew from but one. This narrower epistemology helped limit the parameters of inquiry and undermined prospects of achieving the new synthesis, and with it, the religious and moral mission of the university men. For an empirically-oriented methodology was wholly better suited to study that which was observable and quantifiable and rather poorly suited to explore phenomena vital to religion and morality, including "values, meanings, purposes" and the "truths of faith...grounded...in feeling, ethical action, communal convention, folk traditions, or unfathomable mystical experience."[16]

By the 1920s the prospects for developing a synthesis had been seriously undermined, in no small part, by the trend toward specialization. Moreover, the realities that Henry Dunster faced were still a factor and more than a few scholars were reluctant to make moral and religious claims when advancing potentially unpopular ideas might cost them their jobs. But nothing did more to shatter the prospect of achieving a new

synthesis than the ultimate idealization of objectivity, namely the development of the concept of value-free science in the 1920s. In a substantive departure from those of an earlier generation who sought millennial outcomes through science, the later generation believed that those who brought a moral or religious agenda to their research were unacceptably biased. Thus the scientists hailed as the new high priests of the modern order at the turn of the century were enjoined to check their religious and moral convictions at the laboratory door in the 1920s and 1930s.

It was not as if mid-twentieth century universities suddenly proclaimed themselves irreligious or anti-religious. Far from it. For example, Marsden opens his book with a 1952 report asserting that "religious life at Yale is deeper and richer than it has been in many years."[17] But religion and moral concerns had been institutionally and epistemologically separated from the intellectual core of the university. The unity that once characterized seventeenth-century Harvard had become a historical artifact of a bygone era.

Exiled from the core of the university, where did religion and moral concerns go? Religion, once queen of the sciences, was demoted, relegated in an act of curricular egalitarianism to religion departments where it was studied scientifically. As the professoriate disassociated itself from religion and moral issues, the religious and moral formation of students were turned over to ancillary personnel, including dormitory resident assistants, campus ministers, and coaches. Feared by many at the turn of the century as an occasion of sin and moral turpitude, athletics assumed, at least symbolically, a yeoman's portion of the responsibility for moral formation. In a wonderfully illustrative example, both Marsden and Reuben report how the University of Chicago's famous football coach, Amos Alonzo Stagg, opted for coaching instead of the ministry because he felt he could "do more to serve the cause of Christ in Christian athletics than in the ordained ministry."[18]

For Reuben (whose work ends in the 1930s), and largely for Marsden, this is the denouement, but not for Sloan. Sloan picks up the epistemological story where Reuben leaves off, with the dis-unity of truth. And rather than scripting the story, as did Marsden, with the university's exile of its once-and-best patron (i.e., Protestantism), Sloan documents mainline Protestantism's rather vigorous efforts to re-integrate Christianity and academia. Protestants did not go quietly into that good night of academic marginalization. In the 1930s they began what Sloan calls a Protestant Renaissance, a multifaceted and international effort to define a substantive relationship between Christianity and the university, one that would put the university, once again, in the service of Christ. The institutional manifestations of the Protestant Renaissance included Christian student movements, scholarly associations, foundations, councils, and institutions as well as publications and conferences. The overarching, consuming issue was defining the relationship between religion (i.e., Protestantism) and culture. Ultimately this boiled down to a "problem of thinking" and the most critical and daunting task proved finding a way to make religious truths intellectually accessible and relevant to the modern world.[19]

The abandoned ideal of the unity of truth had been replaced with what Sloan describes as a two-tiered system of knowledge. One tier consisted of knowledge arrived at scientifically and was honored in the academy. The other was reserved for knowledge not derived scientifically and was variously disparaged or ignored by many academics. According to Sloan, what was critically needed was a vigorous epistemology that could make religious truths as academically respectable as were scientific truths. Otherwise Christianity would have little if anything to contribute to culture and the modern intellectual order. Among mainline Protestants the task fell to the neo-orthodox theologians, especially Reinhold Niehbuhr, H. Richard Niehbuhr, and Paul Tillich. All three recognized the significance of the epistemological issue and took it up, with some of their most important work exploring concepts such as myth and symbol. But, according to Sloan, they ultimately failed, for in the end they "pulled back from affirming unambiguously the real possibility of knowledge of God and of the spiritual world."[20]

By the end of the 1960s the Protestant Renaissance had collapsed. Student movements, faculty associations, and once-vital journals folded. This marked the end of mainline Protestantism's engagement with "twentieth-century American higher education at its center."[21]

* * *

In creating a map that led from the antebellum Christian colleges through the turn-of-the-century liberal Protestant inspired universities to the twentieth-century secularized academy, Reuben, Marsden, and Sloan raise a host of questions and possibilities for historians of higher education. Here we explore but one: with this reconfigured map, where do denominational colleges fit in, particularly during the period in which universities developed into the preeminent institutional model in higher education? This seems both an appropriate and logical question, for the old map often presented the denominational colleges as a foil for the university: the universities were secular, vital, and culturally-responsive, while the colleges were religious, moribund, and culturally-isolated.[22] But was this an accurate depiction of the colleges? Some recent research suggests that this was not the case—that the colleges of the period were religious, but vital and culturally responsive as well. Examined in conjunction with the research of Reuben, Marsden, and Sloan, it seems that a new complementary map for the colleges, particular vis-a-vis their relationship with the universities, might be in order.

Historians of American higher education, "not unnaturally, [have] emphasized the rising new elements" and thus, when considering the period between the Civil War and World War I, have focused considerable attention on the universities and very little on the colleges. Roger Geiger's preliminary research on nineteenth-century colleges and universities has helped remediate this situation. He has drawn a particularly interesting portrait of the colleges between 1850 and 1890. Through the 1890s there were far more denominational than nondenominational colleges (316 of 415 in 1890) and they

enrolled the majority of students. Moreover, these colleges offered a "standard menu of innovations" that historians have associated with the emerging universities, including non-classical degrees and elective courses. They offered opportunities to study new fields as well, including education, science, agriculture and commerce, and variously established or expunged theology, law, or medical schools. By virtue of the colleges' vitality and popularity between 1850 and 1890, Geiger calls this the "era of multipurpose colleges."[3]

The fact that many colleges adopted some of the very reforms that defined the universities raises many questions, but given Reuben's, Marsden's, and Sloan's works, an immediate question arises: were the religious impulses that helped shape the modern university also at work in the colleges? If not, what explains the innovating impulses within the multipurpose colleges? Geiger's work makes one thing very clear: that market forces played a significant role in shaping the colleges of the period, with many small denominational colleges scrambling to attract students by offering innovative programs they could often barely afford. But what of the "old guard" who, according to the old map, staunchly defended the traditional academic order against modern educational innovations, often on religious grounds?

In *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917*, W. Bruce Leslie explores how four geographically-proximate denominational colleges (Franklin and Marshall, Swarthmore, Bucknell, and Princeton[4]) that began as liberal arts colleges serving particular ethnoreligious groups eventually became what Geiger subsequently called multipurpose colleges serving more diverse student bodies. Paying close attention to religious factors, Leslie charts the introduction of electives, new subjects, parallel academic tracks, professional and graduate level programs, claiming that these innovations were driven by the need to attract students and the "rapid growth of industrial wealth and the white-collar professional and business class."[5] Market-driven reforms sometimes challenged religious conservatives, but difficulties were surmounted. For example, the "heralded battle between science and religion" hardly registered on these campuses, in part, because the colleges "would not have hired outspoken critics" of traditional religious viewpoints. Yet remaining viable often meant liberalization, loosening denominational ties, and sanctioning their multipurpose colleges with "broadly accepted Protestant norms" more congruent with the students' and alumni's "less denominationally centered and more indulgent, genteel Protestantism."[6] What is similar in the universities studied by Reuben and Marsden, and the colleges described by Leslie, is the role of a liberalized Protestantism, although there is a key difference: in the case of the former, liberal Protestantism fueled reforms; in the case of the latter, it often only allowed for such reforms.

In his conclusion, Leslie emphasizes the colleges' autonomy, asserting that the "colleges were actors in their own destinies," not merely reacting to larger educational and social trends." This is true, but it is not the whole story. The story that remains to be told is the way universities exerted their newly found influence on the colleges.

It is a story Marsden often alludes to, referring to the fact that the university reformers "marginalized" the denominational colleges. But he says little about how they did this or the effects on the denominational colleges, particularly around the turn of the century.[28]

In the period following the Civil War, American Protestants tried to Protestantize America through the country's cultural institutions. The university reformers were part of this movement. As Marsden puts it, for Eliot—and we would add the other university reformers—the "cause of education was ultimately the cause of higher religion." Their vision was millennial and their mission expansive, intended not only to create a new institutional form of higher education, but to effect a reform throughout higher education, freeing it from the vestiges of old, unenlightened ways. Those who represented the older order were considered cogs in the mighty liberal Protestant machine of American educational progress, thus Eliot's comment that the "American university has nothing to learn from medieval universities, nor yet from those still in the medieval period."[29]

Medievalists (read Catholics) proved a convenient rhetorical foil for those advancing the liberal Protestant mission in education. The Jesuits, the preeminent Catholic teaching order, were a favorite subject for such disparaging rhetoric.[30] But the challenges to the Jesuits were not merely rhetorical. While the Puritan founders of Harvard and their co-religionists linked the success of their "errand" with keeping their wilderness Zion free of "popish and jesuitical priests," their nineteenth-century descendants linked the success of their educational errand with freeing education from the pernicious influence of Catholicism, and no group better epitomized the worst in and dangers of Catholic education than the Jesuits.

At the turn of the century, the Jesuits from Boston College learned firsthand that the liberal Protestant agenda in higher education had tangible consequences for the Jesuit colleges. During most of the 1890s, Eliot and the Jesuits from Boston College were embroiled in a widely publicized controversy over a policy which, in effect, barred Jesuit college graduates from entering the Law School as regular students. Eliot had no problems with Catholics per se. In fact, during the period in question, there were over three hundred Catholics at Harvard, a satisfying situation for Eliot the Unitarian who valued the role universities could play in promoting religious toleration. Eliot's problem was with Jesuit education itself, deemed "inferior" because it embodied what he considered the worst of the old: a narrowly sectarian system with a prescribed (versus elective) curriculum, an emphasis on the classics (versus science), and clerical leadership (versus professional/scientific), all of which undermined liberty in education. While the Jesuits scored some immediate public relations victories, the controversy affected enrollments at Boston College for several years, leaving it, like many other Catholic colleges of the period, under-enrolled. In an ironic twist, the Jesuits and other Catholic educators during this period were actually far more worried about the presence of their Catholic constituency at non-sectarian universities like Harvard than they were about their exclusion, leaving one to muse on the question of whether this

was a case when liberal Protestant religious toleration proved more problematic than old-time bigotry.[11]

If a new historiographic map for colleges is warranted and is, perhaps, in the making, the Harvard Law School controversy suggests that situating Catholic colleges vis-a-vis the university movement and other denominational colleges will be a complex task. Unfortunately, little is known about the similarities and differences between Catholic and Protestant colleges. This criticism, voiced by Frederick Rudolph in 1962, remains largely true today despite the recent publication of Philip Gleason's *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century.* This is an excellent book; to describe it as an "important contribution" borders on understatement. However Gleason utilizes what he calls an "internalist approach," telling the story of Catholic higher education through the voices of priests, sisters and some elite laity. Other important voices remain muted, including, at times, those who represent modernity itself. This internalist approach provides little by way of comparison and in itself makes it difficult to situate Catholic colleges in the broader context of American higher education.[12]

Having said this, a juxtaposition of Gleason's *Contending with Modernity* and Sloan's *Faith and Knowledge* proves tantalizing, inviting a broad scale comparison between Catholic and Protestant endeavors in twentieth-century higher education. At the heart of Sloan's book is the Protestant Renaissance; at the heart of Gleason's is what he calls the Catholic Renaissance. The goal of both was to explicate connections between Christianity and culture in ways relevant to the modern mind. Both movements fostered first-rate scholarship within their respective theological communities, with the Niehbuhrs and Tillich on one side and the likes of Etienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, and John Courtney Murray on the other. Moreover, the institutional markers of the Protestant Renaissance and the Catholic Renaissance were the same: student and faculty groups, journals, conferences, and institutes. And both movements collapsed in the 1960s. This litany of similarities is tempered, however, by one fundamental difference: while Protestants sought an epistemology that could bridge faith and knowledge, Christianity and culture, Catholics were convinced that they already had it in the form of neo-scholastic philosophy.

* * *

Having redrawn the map tracing the fate of religion and morality in American higher education, none of the authors likes where it ended. For Reuben it ends with one of society's major cultural and its primary knowledge-producing institution unable and even unwilling to grapple with significant moral issues. According to her, "universities no longer have a basis from which to judge moral claims." For Marsden, the new map ends with the establishment of "nonbelief" and a concomitant development of a "strong prejudice against traditional religious viewpoints" at America's leading, once-Protestant, universities.[13] For Sloan, it ends with the demise of mainline Protestantism's engagement with American higher education.

Taking advantage of the post-modern critique of the notions of pure objectivity and value-free science, each author concludes by turning from the descriptive to the prescriptive. Reuben's proposal is the briefest, yet challenging. Claiming that it has ultimately proven impossible to separate "fact and value," she encourages efforts to "explore ways to reintegrate them." The results, she believes, might prove well worth the effort, for we "may be able to define cognitive standards by which we can address moral questions."[14]

Marsden argues that the potent biases against traditional religious viewpoints are unwarranted. Both Marsden and Sloan claim that if scholars were intellectually honest, all would have to admit to biases and commitments that affect their scholarship. Marsden then argues that if this is the acceptable case for others, such as feminists, then why not for committed Christians? It is a question provocative enough to garner front-page and feature-length coverage in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*,[15] as well as extensive comment in other forums.

In claiming that there should be room for religious expression in the country's leading universities, Marsden addresses the grounds upon which traditional Christianity was excluded from the academy, namely, that it was socially disruptive and unscientific. In the case of the former, Marsden recognizes that there are some religious views "disruptive beyond what society might be expected to tolerate," but argues, making surprising recourse to the liberal Protestant ideal, that religious viewpoints should be welcome in the university as long as proponents "are willing to operate intellectually within the procedural rules of the universities, showing respect for those with whom they disagree." (This sounds suspect from a scholar who held up seventeenth-century Harvard—that expelled Dunster for heterodox views—as a Christian academic ideal). As for the latter critique—that Christianity is unscientific—Marsden argues that religious perspectives should be welcome providing they can "pass muster academically." Doing so would entail adherence to some form of "procedural rationality...[that] honor[s] some basic rules of evidence and argument." These "procedural rules of academia" would preclude religious extremism while helping to ensure that at least some religious viewpoints would "receive serious consideration."[16]

The key issue here is the "procedural rules of academia" particularly those "basic rules of evidence and argument." On this point Marsden remains vague. Sloan does not. Recognizing that knowledge is the coin of the academic realm, Sloan rightly identifies epistemology as *the* crucial issue. Sloan's proposal is this: to "develop qualitative ways of knowing on par with our quantitative," in essence taking up the work that the Niehbuhrs and Tillich left incomplete. For Sloan, the stakes are high. Most immediately, the "Church's claim to have a legitimate voice in higher education" depends upon its "ability to demonstrate an essential connection between faith and knowledge." This is an important challenge for readers, for the university is, indeed, the place where the Church does its thinking, and without a stake in higher education, the academy is arguably and the Church is certainly impoverished."

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But this is not all. For Sloan believes that unless such rigorous non-sensory ways of knowing develop, "it is difficult to see that there can be any real future, certainly for religion . . . [and] little hope ultimately (and perhaps proximately) for the future of the living earth, and for the human being overall."[18] This is a bold claim on any number of accounts, not the least of which are some of the fundamental tenets of mainline Protestantism itself, especially those emphasizing faith in the efficacy of God's grace over the works of men and women. Not only has Sloan slipped into the outer reaches of rhetorical flourish but left himself open to criticism that he is advocating a form of justification by intellectual works.

Although Reuben's, Marsden's, and Sloan's proposals are challenging, problematic, and debatable (and in this regard, we have hardly done them justice), it is difficult to argue with the new map they have drawn. It is a carefully constructed, well-documented map describing how liberal Protestantism contributed to and then how mainline Protestantism proved unable to stymy the process of the secularization of the academy. It is an ironic tale. Irony, of course, implies an element of surprise: that of the unintended consequence. Perhaps, then, we should not be surprised by Protestantism's attraction to and struggles with the modern intellectual order in American higher education, for God's people have been struggling with the issue of knowledge since the beginning of time, when the primordial parents decided that it was in their best interest to eat from the tree of knowledge.

NOTES

[1] George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994); Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994); Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996).

[2] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1930). The works of Perry Miller stand out in the field of American history, especially *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1956, 1984), and *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1939). In the same vein, see Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1975), as well as Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1963). As but one example of the literature that connects Protestantism with American schooling, see Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

[3] Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972).

[4] Theodore D. Bozeman, *Protestants in the Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1977); David A.

Hollinger, "Inquiry and Uplift: Late Nineteenth-Century Academics and the Moral Efficacy of Scientific Practice," in *The Authority of Experts*, ed. Thomas L. Haskell (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1984); David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *God & Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1986); Robert K. Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970 [1938]).

[5] Hawkins made the connections between Eliot's Unitarianism and the elective system. So, too, did Hazen C. Carpenter in "Emerson, Eliot, and the Elective System," *New England Quarterly* 24 (1951): 13-34. Eliot's contemporaries and biographers have made much of Eliot's religious sentiments; for the most part, historians of education have not. Two biographical works that take up Eliot's religious convictions include Ralph Barton Perry, "Charles William Eliot: His Personal Traits and Essential Creed," *New England Quarterly* 1 (1931): 5-19, and Henry Hallan Saunderson, *Charles W. Eliot, Puritan Liberal* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1921).

[6] For example, Daniel Coit Gilman of John Hopkins considered ministry and was licensed to preach. G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, James B. Angell of Michigan, and Andrew Dickson White of Cornell all considered ministry. For a quick summary of some of the religious convictions of some of the university men, see Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 83f.

[7] Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: A Protestant Experience of America* (New York: The Dial Press, 1970); Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984 [1971]).

[8] Conrad Cherry, *Hurrying Toward Zion: Universities, Divinity Schools, and American Protestantism* (Bloomington, Ind. : Indiana Univ. Press, 1995); Robert Stephen Shepard, *God's People in the Ivory Tower: Religion in the Early American University* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1991); Louise L. Stevenson, *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends: The New Haven Scholars and the Transformation of Higher Learning in America: 1830-1890* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1986).

[9] For a summary of the debate over the aims and purposes of early Harvard, see Bernard Bailyn, "Foundations," in *Glimpses of the Harvard Past*, by Bernard Bailyn et al. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986), 4-9. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 40, 44.

[10] Channing is quoted in Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1988 [1970]), 101. The other quotes are from page 69.

[11] Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 17. The relationship between education and morality was a pre-occupation in the early republican period; it is, therefore, no surprise to see it arise in the colleges of the period. Republics were risky propositions, and fueled by fears of anarchy, many early republicans argued for a "widespread diffusion of knowledge" to promote a well-educated and moral citizenry. For examples of this argumentation, see Frederick Rudolph, ed., *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ., 1965). Also see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980).

[12] Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 11.

[13] These ideas are discussed throughout Reuben, Marsden, and the beginning of Sloan, as well as the author's dissertation, "Modernity and the Education of American Catholics: Charles W. Eliot, Harvard Law School, and the Jesuits" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1995).

[14] George M. Marsden, "Introduction," in *The Secularization of the Academy*, ed. George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), 5.

[15] See Hollinger, "Inquiry and Uplift." The phrase "justification by verification" is a permutation of T. H. Huxley's phrase, "justification, not by faith, but by verification." It appears with the phrase "intellectual gospel" in Hollinger's "Justification by Verification: The Scientific Challenge to the Moral Authority of Christianity in Modern America," in *Religion & Twentieth-Century American Intellectual Life*, ed. Michael J. Lacey (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), 117, 123.

[16] Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge*, ix.

[17] Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 15.

[18] The quote is from Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 247. Also see Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 258.

[19] Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge*, 140.

[20] Ibid., 120.

[21] Ibid., vii.

[22] An exception is Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs* 3 (1978): 759-73.

[23] Roger L. Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850 to 1890," *History of Higher Education Annual* 15 (1995): 51, 54, 55.

[24] Leslie argued that Princeton qualifies to be treated as a college, at least through 1910. W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1992), 8.

[25] Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 1.

[26] Ibid., 53, 88.

[27] Ibid., 257.

[28] Marsden's chapter on "Outsiders" focuses on the period following 1920. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 357-68.

[29] Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 186. Eliot's quote is from David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man* Vol. 2 (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1922), 2.

[30] There is a substantial anti-Jesuit literature. For an introduction, see Francis X. Curran, "Tentative Bibliography of American Anti-Jesuitiana," *Woodstock Letters* 81 (1952): 293-304.

[31] For an exposition of the controversy, see chapter two of the author's dissertation, "Modernity and the Education of American Catholics," as well as "Fin-de-Siecle Catholics: Insiders and Outsiders at Harvard," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 13 (1995): 19-48. For more on the complicated issues of toleration and bigotry, see R. Laurence Moore, "Insiders and Outsiders in American Historical Narrative and American History," *American Historical Review* 87, no.1 (1982): 390-423, as well as *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986).

[32] In 1962 Frederick Rudolph described the literature on Catholic higher education as "small but disappointing." Furthermore, he wrote that this literature revealed little about the "remarkable degree [to which] the Catholic institutions were like any other denominational colleges . . . [and] ways in which the Catholic institutions were different." Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens, Ga.: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]), 514. One exception is David R. Contosta's recently published history of Villanova in which he fruitfully compares Villanova with other nearby Catholic and non-Catholic schools such as Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Swarthmore. See *Villanova University, 1842-1992: American—Catholic—Augustinian* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1995). Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), vii.

[33] Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 269; Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 429.

[34] Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University*, 268-69.

[35] Carolyn J. Mooney, "Devout Professors on the Offensive," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (4 May 1994), A18.

[36] Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 429, 431. Also see Stanley Fish, "Why We Can't All Just Get Along," *First Things* 60 (February 1996), 21.

[37] Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge*, 235, viii.

[38] Ibid., 237.

Selected Recent Dissertations in the History of Higher Education

Burton, John D. *Puritan Town and Gown: Harvard College and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1636-1800.* The College of William and Mary, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 313.

This study examines town-gown relations between Harvard College and Cambridge, Massachusetts in colonial and early republic periods. The association between Harvard and Cambridge evolved through three distinct phases during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the seventeenth century, Cambridge nurtured the developing college. The town and its leaders helped govern Harvard, maintained order at the college, and provided economic support. The Cambridge minister provided direct oversight of Harvard and ensured the orthodoxy of the college's leadership. At the end of the century, the connections between town and gown entered a new phase. Harvard relied less on local leaders to assist in academic governance. Moreover, the college had achieved sufficient maturity to take increased responsibility for regulating and disciplining its own members. Harvard began to participate as the town's partner in the development of total community. The college assisted in the building of roads, meetinghouses, and schools. Harvard used its financial resources to support townsmen in their attempts at economic expansion. Harvard and Cambridge also worked together to improve the community's public health and educational system.

After almost a century of successful cooperation, by the 1780s, the relationship between Harvard and Cambridge became more strained. Cambridge had grown into a small city, and much of its new development was away from the central community surrounding Harvard. Instead, East Cambridge and Cambridgeport were working-class suburbs dependent more on Boston than on Harvard. Harvard also entered a new phase of development. The college's most important connections were the urban elite of Boston, who dominated collegiate governance and controlled the college's finances, and whose children made up much of the student body. The faculty created a social community of their own, stopped participating in local politics, and established their own church. Harvard increased its efforts to prevent the social mixing of students with locals in taverns. Harvard and Cambridge came to have identities separate from each other. As the connections between town and gown weakened, tensions increased. By the early nineteenth century, it was no longer possible to discern a single integrated community.

Dean, Pamela. *Covert Curriculum: Class, Gender, and Student Culture at a New South Woman's College, 1892-1910.* The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 352.

Order No. 9538391

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, higher education served as a training ground for New Women and the New South. Unlike previous southern women's colleges, North Carolina's Normal and Industrial College aimed to train white women for work in the public sphere. Its students and faculty would be in the vanguard of social and cultural reform as they joined in the process of defining appropriate class and gender structures for the New South in the new century.

In a region deeply wedded to the idealization of women as domestic, dependent, and vulnerable, this new image of women as reformers challenged assumptions essential to the presentation of white male hegemony. This study focuses on the resulting tensions, paradoxes, and ambiguities, which are inherent in the process of redefining cultural norms, and the role of student culture in both transmitting and transforming those norms.

At college, women were permitted to experiment with class and gender identities. This complex process was not limited to the formal curriculum of the college; it permeated every facet of college life, forming a complex and powerful covert curriculum. College women fashioned for themselves a new ideal of womanhood that sanctioned their move into heretofore male public space.

Elkin, Deborah Sue. *Labor and the Left: The Limits of Acceptable Dissent at Yale University, 1920s to 1950s.* Yale University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 686.

Order No. 9613972

The limits of acceptable dissent at Yale were not shaped by the university administration alone, but also by the degree of support mobilized by the dissenting group for its activities. This dissertation focuses on left of center dissent, those who supported an expansion or broadening of decision-making power, and of access to information, freedom of speech and assembly, and improved wages and working conditions. The study assumes that free speech within a university includes freedom to challenge capitalism openly and to assert left alternatives to it, as well as the freedom to challenge the division of decision-making power within capitalism, and particularly within the university.

The dissertation argues that to understand dissent and academic freedom at a university, it is important to look at blue collar workers as well as students and faculty. Many controversial issues bridged the idea marketplace and the workplace. At the root of controversies over dissent were often conflicting notions of the purpose of the university. While the conception of the university as a free market of ideas was most commonly embraced, the reality of a free market was undermined by the hierarchical structure of power within the university. Nevertheless, the ability of students, workers,

and faculty to mobilize support, could sometimes shape the outcome of challenges to power. The university administration negotiated pressures from these groups, as well as from alumni, business, and government, particularly the FBI and government investigating committees.

Fishman, Elliot A. *MIT Patent Policy, 1932-1946: Historical Precedents in University-Industry Technology Transfer.* University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 312.

Order No. 9627919

This dissertation examines the history of MIT's Patent Policy in its formative era, roughly 1932 through 1946. It was during this period that MIT administrators conceived policies and established precedents to shape a practice recognizable today as deliberate technology transfer. MIT was one of the first American universities to license patents. Over time, the Institute also became one of the most prolific centers of such activity, and its practices were widely emulated. By tracing the motivations behind MIT's patent policy, insight is sought not only on MIT's history, but more generally on the overall development of economic relationships between American universities and industry. Many contemporary assumptions about the way business and academia should interact are rooted in MIT's early experience. It is argued that MIT's patent policy was not conceived by any individual, nor deduced with a consistent economic rationale. Instead, the evolving policy was a highly complex social phenomena, in which disparate communities of businessmen and scientists, administrators, and technologists, struggled to exploit particular professional interests. The aspirations of numerous faculty entrepreneurs were mediated in highly politicized patent committees. MIT's patent policy was further influenced by Research Corporation, a non-profit patent agent with close ties to MIT. Among the entrepreneurial faculty discussed are Nicholas Milas, Wilmer Barrow, Robert Van de Graaff, John Trump, and C. Hawely Cartwright. The premise of this dissertation is that a fundamental transmogrification occurred: In 1931, MIT's interests in patents was essentially passive. After about 15 years, those passive interests were transformed into an enthusiastic culture of technology transfer. Administrative practices of technology transfer in 1946 conceptually resemble those of today.

Fleisch, Brahm David. *The Teachers College Club: American Educational Discourse and the Origins of Bantu Education in South Africa, 1914-1951.* Columbia University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 310.

Order No. 9543275

This thesis analyzes the influence of the United States on the development of South Africa's racially divided education system by exploring the education and subsequent careers of a group of South Africans (the Teachers College Club) who studied at Teachers College between 1914 and 1951. The origins, motives, and role of Teachers

College in International Education are traced, then the careers of Teachers College graduates in South Africa are explored. As Chief Inspector of Native Education, Charles T. Loram initiated wide ranging reforms including the systematization of mission schools and the addition of 'native crafts' to the syllabus. American-trained educators played a prominent role in the debates of the 1930s on anthropology, cultural difference, social planning, and state power. Also explored is the institutionalization and state sponsorship of social and educational research prior to the Second World War.

The findings correct a number of flaws in the standard accounts of 'cultural imperialism.' Edward Berman and Hut Davis are criticized for failing to conceptualize the ways in which American ideas are interpreted and transformed in societies with different economic imperatives, class and property relations, political authority, and ideology. Also examined is the parochialism in the literature, and the preoccupation with the Tuskegee-Hampton model and education for Africans. The central argument is that the United States had an enduring influence on the formation of a racially segregated South African education state.

Goulden, Marc Edward. *From Country Club to Rat Race: A Social History of College Students, 1920-1960.* The University of Wisconsin—Madison, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 741. Order No. 9538211

This dissertation draws upon and interprets in historical context the work of social scientists who studied college students, from roughly 1920 to 1960. Specifically, it examines three different types of studies: (1) adjustment studies that profiled student psychological responses to the college movement; (2) values studies that surveyed students on a myriad of different issues, including race, gender, politics, and society; (3) reports on the structures of higher education that detailed the nature of campus based institutions and social practices, such as housing structures, fraternities, classroom environments, dining halls, and extra-curricular activities. These studies formed a vast reservoir of largely neglected information that challenged existing interpretations of college students as homogeneous beings that adopted the current fashions of their particular historical period.

The study focuses on the process by which individuals applied the culture they learned from their precollege environments to the new and different environments of institutions of higher education and the resulting social experience and psychological response among individual students. Two periods emerged: pre-World War II college environments were status-based social structures that included or excluded individuals on the basis of overt physical or cultural characteristics and encouraged psychological problems associated with feelings of peer ostracism; and, post-World War II college environments were competitive-based social structures that stratified individuals on the basis of peer competition and fostered psychological problems associated with sensations of personal failure.

Harper, Nancy Kellogg. *Higher Education Leadership: Franklin D. Murphy in Kansas, 1948-1960.* University of Kansas, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 387.

Order No. 9609507

This analytic account of Franklin D. Murphy's higher education career in Kansas not only provides an historical record of the man who served the University of Kansas as Medical School Dean (1948-51) and Chancellor (1951-60), but also reveals his leadership style in the arenas of racial integration, Kansas politics, and the library's renaissance. Murphy (1916-94), a physician, became Dean at thirty-two and rose to national attention with The Kansas Rural Physician Plan, an innovation that assured small towns of medical care. He was appointed Chancellor at thirty-five, in 1951. An account of the years 1916-51 reveals early influences and lessons in leadership. Murphy's nine years as Chancellor are examined in three areas. His commitment to ethical citizenship as the primary product of education was tested in efforts to racially integrate the university and the community. His verbal commitment to freedom of expression was tried against the background of Kansas politics. His belief that 'man cannot live by bread alone'—his passion for beauty and excellence—was evident in his work as a catalyst for what was described as a renaissance of the university libraries.

Herr, Stephen R. *Connected Thoughts: A Reinterpretation of the Reorganization of Antioch College in the 1920s.* Columbia University Teachers College, Ed.D., 1995, pp: 530.

Order No. 9539816

Antioch's reorganization in the early 1920s has been heralded as a wonder of academic innovation and generally credited to the work of president Arthur Morgan. This study briefly examines the historical development of the relationship between work and study in the United States, specifically highlighting Oberlin College, the American Missionary Association, the Hampton Institute, the Tuskegee Institute, Berea College, the National Society for the promotion of Industrial Education, the University of Cincinnati, and Antioch College.

The first five years of the college's operation under the new program are discussed including the continuing effort to publicize the program, the disparities between the early goals of the program and their realization as well as the evolving roles of the president, the dean, the faculty and the students.

The conclusion reached by this study is that Antioch's reorganization was neither a remarkable educational innovation nor the work of one man but rather it required the efforts of a number of individuals whose work was in many ways in harmony with both the traditions of the institution and the larger educational community.

Keefe, John Lawrence. *Ireland: The "University Question" and Queen's College, Cork*. Boston College, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 214.

Order No. 9612911

The history of the "University Question" era in Ireland spanned more than three centuries, from the time Elizabeth I established Trinity College, Dublin in 1592 to the Irish Universities Act of 1908.

This era can be divided into four distinct periods. The first occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when Irish Catholics were virtually excluded from obtaining education unless it was under the auspices of the Established Church of Ireland (Anglican).

The second period commenced with the Act of Union in 1801 and lasted for fifty years. The Colleges Bill in 1845 established three provincial colleges in Ireland at Cork, Galway, and Belfast. The new institutions were condemned as intrinsically dangerous to the morals and belief of the Irish Catholics at the Synod of 1850 due to their secular nature. An ecclesiastical ban was placed on the institutions by the Catholic bishops.

The next period, under the leadership of Archbishop Cullen, lasted for more than two decades, with the Ultramontane influence taking hold in the Irish Catholic Church. Few initiatives were attempted to reform the educational systems in the country.

Finally, the Universities Act was passed by the British government in 1908 and proved to be the solution of the "University Question." The National University of Ireland and the Queen's University of Belfast were established. These institutions have essentially remained unchanged to this day.

Lucas, Mark Langley. *The Origins of Student Life: A History of the Colonial College Extra-Curriculum at Rutgers and Princeton, 1800-1870*. Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey—New Brunswick, Ed.D., 1996, pp: 370.

Order No. 9630722

Student life is considered to be the structured, well organized experiences of college students, together with the informal and often spontaneous experiences of undergraduates outside of the classroom. The purposes of this study are: (1) to investigate the origins of student life at Rutgers and Princeton; (2) to examine some of the essential dynamics between students and college authorities as undergraduates created and participated in extra-curricular activities, and (3) to examine the impact that these activities had on the functioning of the colleges.

Student life was first displayed at Rutgers and Princeton in the decades around the Revolutionary war. Student life was most impacted by a campus conflict resulting between the institutional mission promoted by the denominational leaders of the colleges, and the increasingly liberal perspective of education held by students. In an effort to more fully realize their desires for a liberal education, nineteenth century students created an institution separate from the college curriculum. The extra-

curriculum institutionalized certain aspects of student life that were collectively prioritized by students to be practical and fun. Student life was created with an intellectual dimension, a social dimension, and a physical dimension, all in an effort to realize their potential as young men in a rapidly changing American society.

Mahoney, Kathleen A. *Modernity and the Education of American Catholics: Charles W. Eliot, Harvard law School, and the Jesuits*. The University of Rochester, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 505.

Order No. 9618235

At the turn of the century President Charles Eliot of Harvard and three Jesuit college presidents (from Georgetown and Boston College) battled over a policy excluding Jesuit college graduates from admission to Harvard Law School as regular students. This dissertation depicts the Law School controversy as a conflict between the liberal Protestant ethos of the modern American university and the conservative Catholic ethos of Jesuit colleges, and uses it to examine social, religious, and theological factors affecting Catholic participation in American higher education.

Ironically, the Law School's exclusionary admission policy draws attention to the preponderance of Catholics at Harvard and the fact that most turn-of-the-century Catholic students attended non-Catholic colleges and universities. Conservative Catholics deplored this trend as a sign of religious declension; liberal Catholics hailed it as a sign of hope for the Catholic Church. The Jesuits considered it a threat to the vitality of their colleges and their educational missions, while Eliot deemed it an opportunity to effect religious harmony.

Two interlocking arguments are advanced. First, insofar as it encouraged religious toleration, the liberal Protestant ethos of the modern American university (exemplified by Eliot's Harvard) facilitated participation in higher education for the first significant cohort of college-bound American Catholics; insofar as it promoted modern science and personal liberty, it undermined Catholic institutional participation in higher education. Second, the Catholic Church's increasingly strident anti-modern stance hampered the Jesuits' willingness and ability to adopt modern standards of scholarship, and to implement reforms to attract more students.

Mazon, Patricia Michelle. *Academic Citizenship and the Admission of Women to German Universities, 1865-1914*. Stanford University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 284.

Order No. 9602929

This dissertation is a cultural history of the long debate over the admission of women to German universities during the nineteenth century. The lively discussion among academics, state officials, women's groups, and aspiring female students was shaped by the competing discourses of academic citizenship and the 'woman question.' These exchanges demonstrate how gender helped to construct academic roles and institu-

tional authority in Imperial Germany, where higher education, the state bureaucracy, and middle-class respectability were more closely intertwined than in other European countries. The dissertation shows the debate in the contexts of both the 'woman question' and the great changes facing German higher education at the close of the nineteenth century.

The issue of female university attendance was first introduced around 1865. Women gained the right to study at universities between 1900 and 1909. The first generation of women to enroll at German universities graduated in 1914.

The student role was defined in terms of academic citizenship, which did not denote a universal right of access but rather a more exclusive membership. It was characterized by a particular set of rights and obligations of the student within the university and in society at large, all of which were important to the formation of masculine identity in the educated middle class.

The dissertation also examines these questions: (1) How did the middle-class women's movement shape the rationale in favor of reform? (2) What was important in the exchanges between reformers and skeptical academics in which women's higher education became inextricably interwoven with issues such as fear of professional competition and foreign students. (3) What was the impact of entrance regulations on women, and the policies that controlled which women were permitted to audit and later formally enroll?

Autobiographies written by three of the first female students are considered as case studies of how the debate around women's admission affected women students.

McFarlane, Ivan Owen. *Developments of Higher Education in Ontario, 1945-1985: From the Perspective of Equality of Educational Opportunity*. University of Toronto (Canada), Ph.D., 1995, pp: 326.

Order No. 02812

This thesis treats the historical development of Ontario's tertiary level of education from 1945 to 1985. The course of events is described from a Canadian federal policy and an Ontario provincial policy viewpoint and policy in the United Kingdom and the United States. The study examines the question: Did this development contribute to the goal of improving quality of educational opportunity?

The thesis concludes that, although the higher education system was greatly expanded and diversified, creation of greater social equality was not a serious goal and equality of educational opportunity was not increased. Even though a community college system was developed which appears to have provided additional opportunity by providing more diversified types of programs for the less academically able, the thesis concludes: 'separate is not equal.'

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Montgomery, Sara Jane. *Rackyte Cax, Cowax Cowax: The Student Culture of Centre College, 1865-1915*. University of Kentucky, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 290.

Order No. 9617985

Studies of activities and experiences of undergraduate students have interested historians of higher education for decades. In 1962, Frederick Rudolph in his book, *The American College and University*, emphasized student life as expressed through participation in the extracurriculum. Rudolph viewed undergraduates as all alike, gaining their identity through enrollment in higher education. Helen Horowitz, in *Campus Life*, was the first to address differences in students as related to their participation in competing student subcultures.

This dissertation offers another understanding of undergraduate students and their collegiate experiences. The argument is that the Centre College student population from 1865 to 1915 does not represent the pictures painted by either Rudolph or Horowitz. Centre students were not all alike nor did they all share the same experiences while on campus. Differences are noted among the students but these differences do not relate to membership in extracurricular activities, as suggested by Horowitz. Membership in fraternities did not exclude membership in the YMCA or literary societies, nor did membership in athletics sort students into like kinds. There were no competing groups of students, and there was not a group who remained outside the student culture.

Four basic areas of inquiry are researched in this study: (1) the size and social composition of Centre's student population; (2) the religious, academic, and political influences that occurred in both the official college and the student body; (3) extracurricular activities; and (4) student relationships. The study concludes with an overview of the students who attended Centre College, the transformation of the culture they created and its effect on the evolution of Centre College.

Park, Joon-Chul. *Philip Melanchthon's Reform of German Universities and Its Significance: A Study of the Relationship Between Renaissance Humanism and the Reformation*. The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 224.

Order No. 9544661

The relationship between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has been cast largely in terms of Ideengeschichte, or of the role of the humanists, in the early years of the Reformation. The general conclusion has been that although humanism and humanists played a significant role in the advent of the Reformation and its early progress, there was a lasting cleavage between the alleged rational and anthropocentric standpoints of the humanists and the uncompromisingly theocentric attitudes of the reformers.

Two new perspectives guided recent transitions of scholarly interests in the subject. First, Paul Kristeller's definition of humanism as a literary and educational movement rendered inappropriate the traditional interpretation. Secondly, there has been a

growing scholarly interest in the implementation of Lutheran theology in society during the Late Reformation. These new perspectives combined to divert the attention of concerned historians to learning and education in Lutheran Germany.

This work attempts to solve the scholarly debates through an investigation of Philip Melanchthon's curricular reform of four German universities. He considered the study humanities an indispensable means for clerical education at the universities. For religious and doctrinal purposes, he transformed the study program of German universities. Two results followed. First, the deep-seated scholastic traditions gave way to the humanistic disciplines, and humanism became a new dynamic in the academic milieu of Lutheran Germany. Secondly, humanistic subjects and teaching methods helped to better prepare the future Lutheran pastors.

Rutherford, William Mark. *The Origins of Six Two-Year Colleges Founded in Texas in 1946.* Texas Tech University, Ed.D., 1995, pp: 282.

Order No. 9610790

In 1946, six two-year colleges were founded and opened in Texas: Howard County Junior College in Big Spring, Wharton County Junior College in Wharton, Henderson County Junior College in Athens, Navarro Junior College in Corsicana, Southwest Texas Junior College in Uvalde, and Odessa Junior College in Odessa. This study on the origins of these institutions was guided by four research questions: (1) What factors led to the founding of the institutions? (2) What commonality exists in the origins of the six institutions? (3) What unique circumstances distinguish the histories of these colleges from each other? (4) To what extent was the founding of these colleges influenced by the G.I. Bill?

This study concludes that the six colleges were founded primarily due to two unrelated factors. The first was the lack of supervision of two-year colleges in Texas. In the 1940s, two-year colleges operated, to some degree, beyond the purview of state education agencies. In addition, the few statutes regarding the organization of new two-year colleges were generally overlooked by state authorities. Therefore, the founding of these institutions was almost entirely a local matter.

The second factor that contributed to the establishment of these colleges was the G.I. Bill, which did more than provide the means for millions of veterans to attend colleges throughout the nation. In the case if Texas, it also provided the founding parties with both political reasons and financial resources to open colleges in remote regions.

Truesdell, Thomas Charles. *In the Shadow of Madison: Wisconsin Liberal Arts Colleges in the Progressive Era.* University of Virginia, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 300.

Order No. 9701301

The focus of this study is the evolution of three Wisconsin liberal arts colleges in the period from their founding (1846-1851) through 1910. The study examines the

development and redefinition of student cultures at Beloit College, Lawrence University, and Ripon College. Institutional missions changed in response to the colleges' involvement with denominational religious organizations, changes in Wisconsin's demography, and the challenges posed by other educational institutions, particularly the University of Wisconsin and, later, the state-supported normal schools. Internally, the colleges were shaped by the changing backgrounds of faculty and students and the constant struggle to secure funding for the operation of the colleges.

In tracing the evolution of student cultures, the study examines campus life as expressed through the organizations and activities embodied in the extracurriculum, the avenues of student expression on the campuses, and the ways in which gender issues were addressed both institutionally and within student cultures. The development of the University of Wisconsin is considered in its influences on the colleges as an engine of Wisconsin Idea and for its institutional and student cultures.

The study concludes that the colleges moved away from their identificaiton as denominationally-dominated institutions and toward the idea of the university embodied at Madison during the "high-tide" of progressivism. However, both institutional and student cultures remained distinct from the University, comprising distinctive cultures of the "progressive college."

Van Liere, Katherine Elliot. *Humanism and the Law Faculties in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva (1512-1577) and the University of Salamanca.* Princeton University, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 423.

Order No. 9541198

The University of Salamanca's faculty of canon and civil law made an important contribution to the growth of sixteenth-century humanist scholarship, and also contributed to the decline of humanist teaching. When Italian humanism entered Castilian universities late in the fifteenth century, it was centered chiefly in the faculties of languages and theology. But without Salamanca's largest faculty, law, humanism would not have had nearly as large or enthusiastic an university audience. Salamanca's jurists helped to make the glories of Greek and Roman culture and the vita civile prominent themes in Castilian academia as complements traditional Scholasticism. The jurists attempts at reform did not last as demonstrated by the career of Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva (1512-1577). Both a prolific jurist and amateur humanist scholar, Covarrubias embodies the intermingling of humanism and academic law in sixteenth-century Castile, and the eventual failure of academic humanism. Covarrubias was a home-grown Spanish humanist, trained solely at Salamanca. His own education reveals the strengths and weaknesses of humanist education in Castile's greatest university in this period. Although Salamanca boasted some outstanding humanist teachers, Covarrubias's humanistic education relied heavily on family support and private instruction, advantages unavailable to most Castilian students.

Covarrubias left academic life in 1548 for a career in royal government and the Church. As Bishop of Segovia in 1560, and as President of the Council of Castile in

the 1570s, he was charged with overseeing the 'reform' of university affairs in the crown's name. Royal reformers in the early sixteenth century had worked to expand and improve humanist education, but examination of Covarrubias's later efforts as royal reformer shows how the humanities took second place to the interests of the law faculties.

Weneck, Bette C. *The 'Average Teacher' Need Not Apply: Women Educators at Teachers College, 1876-1927.* Columbia University, Ph.D., 1996, pp: 440.

Order No. 9611172

This study examines the early history of Teachers College in relation to the training of female leaders in education between the years 1887 and 1927. Although widely known for the training of male school administrators and educational leaders, Teachers College was attended predominantly by females. It trained women for leadership positions in education and in other female-identified fields of work and study, including nursing education, public health nursing, and nutrition. This study explores women's upward mobility during a period of increasing bureaucratization in public schooling, focusing on fields of education that were female-centered or accommodating of female initiative.

Drawing on recent work in women's history aimed at dismantling the ideology of separate spheres, this study challenges the widely-held notion that 'women teach and men manage' as too uncomplicated a view of women's work in education. It highlights the largely overlooked role women played in creating and supporting reforms linked to the scientific management movement, and suggests the existence of a stratified female labor market in education. It emphasizes the importance of comparative assessment of women's professorial experiences in and outside of education. This study also examines the common interests, values, and ideas that allied women and men in education across gender boundaries. It explores those alliances in connection with the development of Teachers College as a front-ranking professional institution, and in relation to the imposition of managerial reforms in education.

Weston, Timothy Bergmann. *Beijing University and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1920.* University of California—Berkeley, Ph.D., 1995, pp: 387.

Order No. 9621420

The collapse of the imperial system in the early twentieth century fundamentally altered the relationship between Chinese intellectuals and the Chinese state. Confucian scholars enjoyed a privileged status in late imperial society, but in order to reap the benefits of their position, they had to accept the limitations on their independence imposed by the imperial state. Thus, when the Qing Dynasty was overthrown, intellectuals faced both a loss and an opportunity. This study focuses on the history of Beijing University (or 'Beida') during the decades before and after the 1911 Revolu-

tion in order to show how the literati elite reacted to the cataclysmic shift in its relationship with the Chinese state.

Beida was China's first national university and by far and way the most important in the country until the early 1920s. The university occupied a unique and prestigious place at the intersection of Chinese political and cultural life due to its elite status and its close ties to the central government, and because its faculty was at the forefront of a vitally important state-sponsored effort to achieve a new balance between Chinese and Western learning. This combination of political and cultural centrality assured that educational and intellectual matters at the university would have political repercussions, and that debates there over cultural issues would reflect struggles for political power.

For intellectuals who desired to gain a highly visible platform from which to influence the nation's political and cultural development after the 1911 Revolution, Beijing University represented a natural target. However, in order for Beida to serve as a leader of reform, it had to be re-fashioned into a more modern-style university, and it had to achieve a greater degree of autonomy from the state. This dissertation is a study of that re-fashioning process, and of the attempt on the part of a community of politically moderate intellectuals to re-define their social position and their role in the public life of the nation.

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